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MARY STUART IN FICTION AND DRAMA

BY

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THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
SUPERVISION BY Merle Vincent Raines

ENTITLED Mary Stuart in Fiction and Drama

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF Master of Arts in English

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I. MARY STUART IN LITERATURE FROM 1567 TO 1725

The Popularity of Mary Stuart in Literature

The career of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, her flight to Scotland from France, the young widow of François II, her strife with the Presbyterian lords for the control of the government, her marriage with Darnley, and after his murder, with Bothwell, her escape from Murray to England, her twenty years' imprisonment amid Catholic intrigues for her release, and her execution in 1587, affords a wealth of material for the poet, the dramatist, and the novelist. In the opposition of the strong personalities connected with it - Mary and Elizabeth, the craven Darnley and the brutal, masterful Bothwell, the faithful Melville and the sinister Davison - there lie ready for the author's hand sharp contrasts and tense, dramatic situations. He may choose from the mass of forged letters, state documents, and contemporary judgments those items which support his interpretation of Mary's character and may condemn or exculpate her by the emphasis which he gives to her own personality, the political situation of the period, or the struggle between Anglicanism and Catholicism.

Every account of a sovereign's reign must consider the individual qualities of that sovereign in their reaction with the forces that determine the social and religious history of a nation, but in the case of Mary Stuart this interrelation is so obscured by defamatory letters concerning her and so concealed by the diplomatic correspondence from English and continental courts that it is difficult to deter-

mine her guilt.

Mary's claim to royal power was never accepted without question, either in England or Scotland. She had been educated in France in the palace of her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and had accepted the religious faith and the political ethics of the House of Guise. At the age of fourteen she had married the Dauphin, later François II, and had ruled France as queen for eighteen months. On the death of her husband she was forced to flee to Scotland, a victim of the enmity of Catherine de Medici, and there she established her court, a gay, pleasure-loving Catholic court, in a land of austere Presbyterian lords and rival Border-raiding chieftains. After two years of widowhood she chose as husband Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, and united the Stuart line with the house of Lennox, both families with claims to English royalty.

By the terms of Henry VIII's will Mary was next in succession to the English throne after the family of Grey, although she had by right of birth a stronger claim to sovereignty. Elizabeth had no greater fondness for the Greys than the Stuarts, but the one house was Anglican, the other Catholic. Elizabeth herself was without any deep religious convictions, even inclining toward Catholicism when she desired an alliance with France and Spain, but she realized the danger of recognizing a Catholic heir in England - England that opposed the pope with Henry, read the prayerbook with Edward, and said mass with Mary Tudor. Mary

Stuart as queen would unite Scotland and England and ally England with her ancient enemies, France, Spain, and the papacy. The Tudor constitutional government under a powerful Parliament which Henry developed to aid him against the pope would give place to absolutist government under a Stuart.

Mary's execution, then, in 1587 deprived English Catholicism of a strong claimant for the throne, rid Elizabeth of a powerful rival who might combine continental nations against England, and was a triumph for Protestantism that balanced the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve and rendered useless any attempt at rescue by a Spanish Armada. Though Mary had never been an ardent Catholic, during her imprisonment she had been regarded as the symbol of world Catholicism, whose fall could presage the ultimate victory of Anglicanism or a revival of enthusiasm for the papacy. Numerous pamphlets appeared as soon as her death became known, a literary Armada from France and Spain denouncing Elizabeth as a "feminine Nero, with a cannibal's thirst for blood." The personalities of the queens, except as objects for scathing arraignment or indiscriminating praise, were disregarded, and the two became the representatives of the Catholic Reformation and the English Renaissance. The theme was taken up by novels and dramas, and gained great popularity in seventeenth-century Germany and nineteenth-century England. Interest soon swung, however, from the religious and political issue to the character of

the queen herself.

A Survey of Studies of Mary Stuart's Literary History

There has been only one attempt to link together the numerous dramas that have centered around Mary Stuart - "Maria Stuart im Drama der Weltliteratur" by Karl Kipka. The author attempts to consider every important play on the subject, commenting both on its literary merit and its place in the development of a Mary Stuart tradition in literature. The account of dramas before 1800 is very full, Jesuit and folk-plays of southern Germany receiving especially careful analysis. There is little discussion of works in the nineteenth century, Kipka being content to list them in chronological order without indicating their content and their point of view toward Mary Stuart. Nor can he always resist the temptation to laud the work of his countrymen and slight that of other nationalities, particularly the English. He succumbs to this impulse in his review of Schiller, where he would show that the finely imaginative grasp of the issues of character in the tragedy come by intuition to the Teuton while the blunter, less sensitive Anglo-Saxon reaches the same conclusion only after a long process of reasoning.

The present study has been planned to remedy the defects in Kipka's presentation, and especially to show, as he does not, the relation between Mary's place as a heroine of fiction and her popularity in drama. The study, further,

aims to compile an accurate, complete list of the novels and plays dealing with her life, following the actual chronology and indicating as far as possible the content of each work and the point of view inspiring it. Its primary purpose, then, is to trace briefly and without national bias Mary Stuart's course through fiction and drama, showing how men at different periods regarded her and what elements in her history were selected for treatment by opposing schools of literary thought. Because the work has been intended as a basis for later, more detailed studies of the problem, nothing like a comprehensive review of individual works has been attempted. The play or novel has been placed in the general literary movement to which its characteristics ally it, and merely its underlying attitude toward Mary Stuart has been emphasized. There has been little place for considerations of the relation between different pieces and of the development of minor characters.

For the early plays concerning Mary the author has relied on Kipka, most of the original plays not being available, but the impressions given there have been verified by reference to the studies of von Pichler, Michels, and Stachel of Jesuit drama, early German Renaissance drama of the Senecan type, and southern German folk-drama. For the more recent novels and plays, whenever the work itself was not consulted, the author turned to literary histories, dictionaries of biography, and to such handbooks of

the stage as Genest, Fleay, and "Biographica Dramatica."

Mary Stuart Viewed by Catholic Apologists

Six years after the death of Mary, when the forces of each church were being marshalled for a spirited defense of its position, there appeared "Insulani Stuarda Tragodia siue Caedes Mariae Serenissimae Scot. in Angl. perpetrata," by Adrian Roulers. The play's primary purpose is religious propaganda, its author being professor of poetry in the Jesuit school at Douai, a center of the Catholic Reformation in Germany,⁽¹⁾ and its only merit is its animated presentation of Mary as a martyr queen. It is a five-act tragedy modelled after the "Thyestes" of Seneca and is adorned with many classical devices, a chorus of captive youths and maidens serving as commentators on the action.⁽²⁾

Roulers plunges into his attack on Elizabeth in the prologue. The ghost of Henry VIII arises from the hell to which the papal excommunication has condemned him, and confesses Elizabeth the child of his incestuous union with Anne Boleyn, his own natural daughter. The action shows Mary in consultation with her physician, her patient endurance of Amias' brutal treatment, her composure during the trial, and her leave-takings before her execution.

Dramatically the highest point is reached in the last scene, as Mary, with joy at her approaching martyrdom,

1.- Woerner, Roman. "Die Älteste Maria Stuart-Tragödie." In "Germanistische Abhandlungen." Hermann Paul, Strassburg, 1902.

2.- Stachel, Paul. "Seneca und das Deutsche Renaissance-drama." Meyer and Müller, Boston, 1907, p. 212.

reviews the religious strife to which she is a sacrifice. The chorus implores Heaven to send a rescuer, but God has ordained her death that it may win new converts to the faith. The scene (closely followed by Schiller) presents the queen's pathetic farewell, her message to her son that she died a good Scotchwoman, a good Frenchwoman, and a good Catholic, and her magnanimous forgiveness of the judges and the executioner. The description is vivid and is for the most part marked by an admirable restraint. Elizabeth is portrayed without that sense of personal hatred which actuates later dramatists, and Mary is a dignified queenly figure. The first four acts are filled with exposition of the crisis within the church, but the last act is simple and moving. Roulere seems awed in the presence of death, and he introduces into the sacredness of Mary's last hour on earth no religious note except an exultant one that she died for her faith.

Similar restraint was not shown in the Catholic dramas that kept interest in Mary Stuart alive in Germany during the next fifty years. Protestantism had made such progress in the public mind that to insure the continuance of Catholic principles the Jesuit order in 1586 and again in 1599 sanctioned the production of dramas that combined classical form and spirit with the tenets of Jesuit theology. Instructors in the university centers of the order responded loyally to the appeal. Because of the place which

Mary Stuart had occupied in world Catholicism during her imprisonment her story offered excellent opportunities for such a glorification of religious faith. As a result of Jesuit activity many dramas concerned with the spectacle of her death were presented in Prague, Neuberg, Krems, and the villages of the Tyrol during the seventeenth century. (1)

The plays built for presentation before village audiences were clumsily constructed, with little literary merit to counteract the zealot's purpose that inspired them. The fact that the author has profound religious convictions does not make the plays perishable, for the mystical rhapsody that comes through meditation upon the divine has produced enduring literature. These works, however, were too frankly argumentative to reach that high plane of poetic feeling. Their material was that aspect of Mary Stuart's life which would inevitably lose interest after religious differences were adjusted. Their grasp of the issues involved in her execution was a superficial one, for they selected only the bold contrasts that were theatrically effective. Their delineation of character was always along the obvious lines. Mary was the embodiment of virtue, patience, and nobility, while Elizabeth was an inhuman tyrant, sensible to none of the gentler

1.- Michels, Victor. "Studien Über die Ältesten Deutschen Festnachtspiele." K. J. Trübner, Strassburg, 1896.

feelings of her sex and allied, by implication when not by actual vows of fealty, to the devil and his legions of the excommunicate.

The plays that emanate from the university centers were more creditable dramatic entertainment, with greater consistency and subtlety in motivation and conception of character. The earliest of the type illustrates in its ardor and its grotesque combination of human and heavenly figures the strength and weakness of the Jesuit performances. At the University of Prague there was produced in 1644 a "Königliche Tragödie. Oder Maria Stuarda, Königin von Schottland und des Königreichs Engelland Erbin, welcha Elisabetha, regierende Königin in Engellandt, ausz Hasz gegen der katholischen Religion und Ehrgeiz hat enthaupten lassen. Ward gehalten und gespielt zur Herbstzeit von der ansehnlichen an der K. K. Universität der Societ. J. zu Prag studierenden Jugend im Jahr, nach Christi Geburt im 1644, den 29. Sept."(1)

Mary is pictured as robbed of her two husbands by judicial murders, forced into a hateful marriage with Bothwell, and ill-advised in her flight into England. The first act shows her entrance into Elizabeth's kingdom after she has received very solemn pledges of welcome. The following acts show her at crises during her detention at Fotheringay, comforted by the Genius of Religion, warned

1.- Kipka, Karl. "Maria Stuart im Drama der Weltliteratur." Max Hesse, Leipzig, 1907, p. 27.

against Elizabeth's malice by the Genius of the House of Stuart. As she makes preparations for death Susanna, followed by a host of other innocent martyrs, comes to proffer the crown of martyrdom. She accepts their homage with humility, praising the goodness of God in permitting her sacrifice, and walks to the scaffold in a mood of intense devotion. As the axe falls the chorus raises a solemn chant, which changes to a song of victory. The Spirit of Justice predicts the triumph of righteousness, and the ghosts of François and Darnley promise to requite Elizabeth for her murder of their beloved wife.

The action depends on the intervention of heavenly spirits, guardians over the good and the believers. Man is conceived as essentially evil, redeemed only by a belief in a higher power, and there is consequently no character who can represent the good. Mary has received her martyrdom as an act of divine grace and is numbered with the angelic host. In motivation, as in character, the author is content with the abstract, each step being the triumph of one principle over another. Soon the symbolism grows oppressive, even grotesque. The last scene especially is ridiculous, as angelic Hosannas to Mary's upward mounting spirit mingle with earthly lamentations of her maids. The prevailing tone of the play, however, is that of earnestness, and some of the songs have a true lyric uprush of feeling.

Impetus was given to these Jesuit glorifications

of Mary's death by the Thirty Years' War, with the attempt of Catholic princes to regain the land seized by Protestants. Her story continued to be told during the middle of the seventeenth century not so much because of public interest in her fate as because of its power to stir the German people to rebellion against Protestant persecutions, the terror of which they had felt during the Bohemian uprisings.⁽¹⁾ The Scottish queen became throughout southern Germany and Austria a symbol of resolute adherence to faith.⁽²⁾

1.- An additional incentive to write concerning Mary Stuart came with the declining power of her family in England and the rise of the austere Puritan exemplified by Cromwell. Continental poets saw the danger to them that lay in the establishment of Puritan principles, and they included denunciations of the Commonwealth in their discussion of the Stuart fortunes. A play with this purpose is the "Maria Stuart of Gemartelde Majesteit," written in 1646 by Joost von Vondel. Sombre and fatalistic in mode of expression, it is similar to the many Dutch plays of the period that protest against tyranny. In its account of Mary's last days it contains a bitter assault on Puritanism. Mary is referred to as one "die zwischen tugendhaft und sündig den Mittenehrenweg hält; die irgend eine Schuld oder einen Fehler hat oder durch heftige Leidenschaft oder durch Unverstand zu irgend etwas Schrecklichen geführt wird; deshalb eben um diesem Mangel abzuhelpen, haben wir der Stuart Unschuld und die Gerechtigkeit ihrer Sache mit dem Nebel der üblen Nachrede under der Verleumdung und Bösheit jener Zeit verhüllt, damit ihre christlichen und königlichen Tugenden durch zeitweilige Verdunkelung nur desto heller hervor leuchten." Hellward (Hellwald, Frederick von, "Geschichte des Holländischen Theaters," Rotterdam, 1874, p. 40) describes the play as five-act tragedy without scene divisions and conforming rigidly to the unities. In a prophetic speech one of the attendants sees evil threatening England and delivers a polemic against Puritanism.

2.- von Pichler, F. "Über das Drama des Mittelalters in Tirol." Innsbruck, 1820, p. 76.

An Early Analysis of Mary's Personality

As the Jesuit dramas developed, the political situation during the middle of the sixteenth century shared, in writers' minds, the importance of the religious struggle. The Catholic dramatist could present only the events of Mary's last years, since the early years showed her neither profoundly devout nor proceeding in her marriages as a queen, a noble woman and a martyr. To impart any originality to his narrative he must emphasize the personal character of the heroine or he must give a new interpretation of historical events and personages in their relation to her death. Of the two courses he chose the latter as involving the least difficulty. ⁽¹⁾

1.- "La Reyna Maria Estuarda" by Juan Bautista Diamante (1660) is imitative of the style of Calderon. It gives itself to the love intrigues of Elizabeth and Leicester, Mary and Norfolk, with counterpart humble characters for comic relief. The only new motif is the inner conflict of Norfolk between love and feudal loyalty, and the struggle between duty and faith in his acceptance of Catholicism. Mary is portrayed sympathetically as a martyr to her religion, but the strong element of fatalism lessens the poignancy of the final tragedy. Diamante is intent on producing a play with stirring incident, lively dialogue, and romantic appeal.

"La Maria Stuarda" (1663) by Giovan Francesco Savaro follows Diamante in its dual intrigues of aristocratic and humble characters and in its treatment of Mary as a passive agent in the plot.

"Marie Stuart, Reïne d'Escosse" (1675) "Nouvelle historique," by Pierre Pesant de Boisguilbert, is the first work of fiction dealing with Mary Stuart's history. It was translated into English by James Freebairn under the title "Life of Mary Queen of Scots" (Edinburgh, 1725).

The first dramatist to choose the first course and attempt a searching analysis of Mary's character, religion and politics being considered only as environmental forces, was Johannes Riemer, whose "Von hohen Vermählungen" appeared at Weissenfels in 1679. It is the first play to treat Mary's early years in Scotland and is thus important in determining the general outline of succeeding studies of the period. Riemer anticipates later dramatists in conceiving a drama of human passions, upon which depends the fall or rise of a noble Scottish house, the Stuarts. "Man und Weib ist ein Leib," he says, "und wann deren eins wieder-sinnet, so reist das Band, welches das gantze Hause umfasst."

Darnley's craven spirit and his inordinate greed for power estrange Maria, who has hoped that great good to Scotland will follow her mating. Deeply wounded by his suspicions, she yet remains a true wife and wise queen, dependingly increasingly, however, on Rizz (Riccio). After his murder she turns to Bothwell in a moment of weakness, the fire in her finding in him an answering flame, a physical attraction, a brutality, and a force lacking in her husband. Her new lover to be sure is not of heroic mold; his animal instincts dominate him; his passionate desire to possess Maria leads him to murder and disgrace; yet he has one quality that Darnley has not - virility. The queen forgets all restraints in the ardor of Bothwell's wooing, and consents gladly to the murder of her husband.

The third act is written with a skill in dramatic composition and a keenness of insight into the psychology of the characters that the story did not receive until Swinburne's "Bothwell" two centuries later. The English ambassadors assure Bothwell that he will find favor with Elizabeth as King of Scotland and pledge him their aid in getting rid of Darnley. Poison fails, and Darnley is lured to the orchard and stabbed. Bothwell returns to Maria, and the ambassadors find her in his arms.

"Von hohen Vermählungen" stands structurally as an organic unit with a close-knit tragic action. The list of characters is small, one-half the length of that of Roulers or of the Prague dramatists, but each has a decisive part to play in the action. The events of a year are compressed into the space of several days, but the exclusion of religious and political considerations permits the focusing of the drama upon the degeneration of Maria's character. Careful attention is given to details - the dispatches, misdirected letters, and love tokens that become familiar property of dramatists and novelists - and these details, combined with vigorous dialogue and clear character delineation, give a strong impression of reality. It is significant that Riemer does not sympathize with his heroine. She speaks, not for her faith, but for her own passionate nature, which leads her inevitably to destruction.

"Von hohen Vermählungen," however, was little known outside Weissenfels, and it made no direct impression upon the Mary Stuart story in the eighteenth century. Swinburne then revived interest in it by his trilogy. It must stand side by side with Schiller's "Maria Stuart" as the finest products of German thinking on the problem of Mary Stuart.

Mary Stuart in French Drama of Intrigue

During this period of popularity of the story in Germany little attention was given it by writers at the French court, who probably were not anxious to remind Catherine de Medici of her hated daughter-in-law. Lesser poets did not feel this necessity for restraint, and many poems concerning Mary Stuart appeared. Most of them were concerned with Buchanan's charges against the queen or with the religious issue. French Catholicism never felt the need of justifying itself to the public that German Catholicism did, and the point of view that appears in "Marie Stuart Reyne d'Escoese" (1639) is the contribution made by French authors to this literary tradition. It is the attitude of the man of letters who utilizes historical facts as a background for a work of his own imagination, who cares less for historical accuracy than for the color, the romance, the pomp and pageantry, of an earlier age. This pseudo-historic, romantic point of view informs more than half of the seventy-five or more novels and dramas in which Mary Stuart is a figure, reaching its lowest level in the superficial, gaudily wrought novels of 1830 to 1880.

"Marie Stuart Reyne d'Escosse," the first drama with this attitude, is the work of Regnault, a dramatist attached to the group of players supported by Cardinal Richelieu and presenting private performances in his palace. It is primarily intended for a court circle, and especially for one, like those at Paris and Madrid, where the act of Elizabeth in ridding herself of a dangerous rival was thought justifiable, highly moral statecraft. It is for a circle, further, where religion is indifferently regarded except when political factors are involved. Elizabeth is consequently not the incarnation of fanatic malice that the Jesuit dramas make her, but a woman who can be as gracious to the favored duke Norfolk as she can be merciless to Mary. She comes near to pardoning the duke, who trustfully confides his hopes of marrying her cousin, but she realizes the danger of leniency and sends him to the block. Mary can here reflect no glory of martyrdom; her first appeal is for sympathy as a gentle woman, unfortunate in her love.

Regnault's interest is twofold, however, and the play divides as the second interest becomes dominant. The first acts present the duke of Norfolk - an attractive noble courtier without skill in diplomatic deception - and tell the story of his love for Mary. In this part Elizabeth appears as the beneficent sovereign, deceived by evil counsellors, and Mary is the unhappy captive, bitterly maligned and patiently enduring an unjust imprisonment. After the execution of Norfolk another dramatic conflict is presented,

and the problem is now the political justification of Mary's death. There is a reversal of sympathy to Elizabeth, and her rival becomes a heartless intrigant. The incoherence resulting from a dual purpose in plot and characterization is increased by the compression of the events of twenty years into the compass of two days. (1)

Limitations on Dramatic Freedom in Elizabethan England

Neither Germany nor France, however, but England, might be expected to be the first to tell the story of Mary Stuart. Yet Elizabeth had proceeded cautiously in the trial and execution of her royal captive, since openly to insult her would be to discredit her own name in Europe and effect the dreaded alliance between France and Spain. Though she might have enjoyed an attack upon her rival,

1.- Regnault's attitude toward history is continued by Marie Madeleine Pioche, Comtesse de Lafayette, in "The Princess of Cleves," wherein Mary appears as a secondary character. The story is that of the love of M. de Nemours for the beautiful Madame de Cleves, who dislikes her husband but cannot neglect the claims of marital honor to entertain an intrigue. Reticence, grace, and delicacy attend the unfolding of the simple narrative, which is set against the background of the court of Henri II. Mary Stuart as the wife of the dauphin is a charming, young princess, eager to acquire perfection in music and poetry, and gently curious about the love affairs of her attendants. There is no mention of the relation between François and the Queen-Dauphin although their union seems to be a happy one. The duel in which Henri II lost his life is described, and there is a long account of the coronation of the young king and queen at Rheims. Chastelart appears as one of the poets in Mary's train.

The novel takes its place in literary history, not because of its treatment of Mary Queen of Scots, but because of the advance it makes, after the romances of Scudéry and La Calprenède, toward a probable love story stimpily and intimately told. Its place in Mary Stuart tradition depends on its use of court life for its picturesqueness, and its depiction of a youthful, happy queen.

she could not allow the public liberty to discuss openly matters of state. In 1559, therefore, she had ordered her officers to refuse licenses to plays "wherein either matters of religion or of the governaunce of the estate of the common weale shalbe handled or treated, beyng no meete matters to be wrytten or treated upon, but by menne of aucthorite, learning and wisdom, nor to be handled before any audience but of grave and discrete persons."⁽¹⁾

The rule was laxly enforced, although the council under Leicester intervened to punish peculiarly flagrant impropriety in discussion of political affairs.⁽²⁾

A dramatist might of course evade the regulations, as was often the case,⁽³⁾ by disguising the characters of his play and transferring the events to an earlier century. This device is followed in the first play to deal, even indirectly, with Mary's reign in Scotland. "A Newe Interlude of Vice Conteyninge the History of Horestes with the cruel Revengement of his Fathers death upon his one naturill Mother," by John Pikeryng, was played at the court of Elizabeth between July 14, 1567 and March 3, 1568.⁽⁴⁾ It points

1.- Hazlitt, William Carew. "The English Drama and Stage, under the Tudor and Stuart Princes, 1543-1664. Illustrated by a Series of Documents, Treatises, and Poems." Roxburghe Library, London, 1869, pp. 192.

2.- Gildersleeve, Virginia Crocheron. "Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama." Columbia University Press, New York, 1908, p. 15.

3.- Simpson, "The Political Use of the Stage in Shakespeare's Time," New Shakespeare Society's Transactions, 1874, p. 371.

4.- Hazlitt, William Carew. "A Hand-Book to the Popular Poetical and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain." London, 1867.

the parallel between Mary and Clytemnestra in wedding the murderers of their husbands. It urges that the recent crime in Scotland be avenged:

"Therefore, O King, if that her faute should unrevengyd be
A thousand evylles would insu their of, Your Grace should se
Her faute is great, and punnyshment it is worthy for to have
For by that meane the good, in sooth, from daungers may be
saufe."

This sentiment must have been particularly pleasing to Elizabeth, who was only waiting for a pretext to justify her alliance with Murray.

Except for the substitution of native morality figures, Vice, Nature, and Dewtey, the interlude follows closely the classical tragedy from which it takes its name. (1)
It closes with a eulogy of Elizabeth delivered by Dewtey, who claims for her the high privilege of setting up virtue and correcting vice.

Pikeryng's appeal to the queen to restore peace in Scotland makes it evident that the pretense of Greek characters is not seriously regarded. Critics have not such clear proof when they see in "Hamlet" an attack on Mary similar to that in Pikeryng's interlude, but introducing more daringly than its predecessor references to contemporary Scottish history. (2) A number of parallel passages and iden-

- 1.- Fleay, Frederick Gard. "A Chronicle History of the London Stage 1559-1642." Reeves and Turner, London, 1890, p. 61.
- 2.- Plumptre, James B. D. "Observations on Hamlet, and on the motives which most probably induced Shakespeare to fix upon the story of Amleth from the Danish Chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus for the plot of that tragedy; being an attempt to prove that he designed it as an indirect censure of Mary

tical situations are presented to prove this theory,⁽¹⁾ but they are not sufficiently variants of the story that is outlined in Saxo Grammaticus to justify one in contending, as does Plumptre, that "Hamlet" is a veiled attack on Mary Queen of Scots. Shakespeare may have been influenced in the choice of details by affairs in Scotland, but "Hamlet" is certainly more than a pleasant political document dedicated to the English queen.

The ban which prevented the great Elizabethans from deciding openly Mary's guilt or innocence was effective in the reign of her successor, who issued an order "against any representing any Modern Christian King in plays on the

Queen of Scots." Cambridge, 1796. A brief statement of the theory is given in the appendix to volume 2 of Furness, "A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare."

1.- Claudius, for example, becomes king through his marriage with "the imperial jointress of this warlike state" (I, 2), and Bothwell likewise takes the crown matrimonial as Mary's jointure. Darnley and the elder Hamlet, both graceful, handsome men, are succeeded by men of unsavory reputation, Bothwell bearing throughout England and Scotland the name of ruffian, drunkard, and rake, and Claudius passing under similar odium. Three months elapse between the death of Darnley and the queen's marriage with Bothwell; and in "Hamlet" the son's grief is aroused at the marriage of Gertrude with her husband not two months dead" (I, 2). Both kings are "sleeping....of life, of crown, of queen at once dispatch'd:unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneled," (I, 5), and the two counsellors, Riccio and Polonius are killed in the presence of their royal mistresses. Hamlet's words (III, 4) on the death of Polonius are almost exactly those spoken in Holyrood at the murder of Riccio (Froude, "History of England From the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth," vol. 9, p. 254.

the stage."⁽¹⁾ James was not likely to encourage public discussion of divinely appointed royalty, or to welcome a play either reproving by implication his unfilial conduct or attacking Elizabeth. In consequence Mary Stuart does not appear in English dramatic literature before the closing of the theatres in 1640.

Popularity of the Story After the Restoration

But English dramatists were too fond of dealing with national history to neglect for long the theatrical values in a situation that made England and her royal captive the center of continental conspiracies for twenty years. With the return of the emigrant king in 1660 and the opening of the theatres, they were able to utilize for the first time the possibilities as a tragic heroine which surrounded Mary Stuart. At this time of ebb in English Catholicism a controversial drama in the style of Roulers and the Jesuits was not possible, and the development of Parliamentary power made unnecessary any contrast between Tudor constitutional government and Stuart absolutism. The religious and political aspects of the material being thus closed to them, dramatists selected the human elements, the personalities of the queens in their influence on history. Interest was focused on the love of Norfolk and Mary instead of being centered on her death, and following French rather than German models, the

1.- Ward, Adolphus William. "A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne." Macmillan, London, 1799, vol. 3, p. 23.

queen was pictured as a gentle, noble-spirited woman sacrificing her life not for religion but for love. Norfolk was represented as a resolute manly figure, sensible to the claims of love and honor, and in accordance with the ethics of the heroic play exalting the dictates of honor. Elizabeth is viewed magnanimously as a woman of generous heart and fine character who permitted Mary's execution only to vindicate her own honor as a queen. Like the "Marie Stuart Reyne d'Escoce" of Regnault, these plays are intended to arouse sympathy and admiration, rather than pity, as did the intensely earnest Jesuit dramas, or fear at inexorable retribution for sin, as did Johannes Riemer's "Von hohen Vermählungen."

Fourteen years after the laws against the theatres were repealed (1674) John Banks wrote "The Albion Queens," a five-act play in the heroic couplet. The licenser refused to permit a performance of it, and it was not produced or published until 1704.⁽¹⁾ Genest speaks of the difficulties attendant to its production: "Norfolk says: Kings are like divinities on earth - but even this sentiment could not save this Tragedy from being Prohibited....by the caprice of the Licenser....for what reason....is not easy to conjecture."⁽²⁾ The licenser offered no objection to Banks' other historical plays: "The Innocent Usurper" (1683) dealing with the rivalry between Elizabeth and Lady Jane

1.- Nettleton, George Henry. "English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century." Macmillan, New York, 1914.

2.- Genest, "Some Account of the English Stage," vol. 1, p.423.

Grey, and "Virtue Betrayed," (1692), presenting the fate of Anne Boleyn.

Elizabeth in "The Albion Queens" is anxious to grant justice and royal honors to her cousin, but she cannot receive her until the dishonor attached to Mary's name has been removed. The duke of Norfolk brings her a letter from Mary, however, telling of the captive's great affection for her and describing, despite Murray's protests, the squalor and desolation of Fotheringay. Moved to pity by his account the tender-hearted Elizabeth sends her own coach to bring Mary to London.

The sincerity of the magnanimous queen is tested when the populace salute with cries of joy Mary's passage through the streets. Jealousy momentarily overcomes her feelings of mercy and she declines to receive her prisoner. The poor, trembling fugitive, believing herself mocked by the cheers and too broken in spirit to resent them, accepts this blow with patient resignation. She offers to break her troth with Norfolk, knowing now that she can never regain the throne. When the duke is imprisoned she renews her promise and is ready to die with him.

In spite of the efforts of Davison (Cecil's secretary) to prevent it, a meeting is effected between the two queens. They are reconciled and Elizabeth proclaims

"Behold Your Queens, both Scot and English here,
Here, thou wide Ocean, hear thy Albion Queens.
Let my dread Voice far as thy waves be heard,
From Silver Thames to Golden Tweed proclaim
With Harmony of Drums, and Trumpets Sound,
Sound Mary and Elizabeth your Queens." (III, 1)

Emboldened by this proclamation Norfolk confides his love to the English queen. She orders his arrest, yet she cannot deal harshly with him:

"Fiery and cool, and melting in a Breath,
At one she sighs, and pities the fall'n Man
And at the same moment rages, and upbraids him." (IV,1)

Cecil and Davison acquaint her of the Babington plot, of which Gifford, one of the conspirators, has confessed Mary the instigator. In a moment of passion, indignant that her hospitality should be abused and her charitable intentions ridiculed, Elizabeth orders the trial of Mary and the execution of Norfolk.

The final tragedy is not inevitable, since it may be averted at several points in the narrative, and hence the element of suspense is not lacking. There are many irregularities of composition, the verse being so unmetrical that one critic calls it "not poetry, but prose run mad," (1) but the success of the play on the stage testified to its power to arouse the pity of the audience for the three principal characters. (2)

Banks has followed Regnault in making Mary and Elizabeth dramatically of equal interest, Mary the tragic victim of her implacable enemies, and Elizabeth the tragic victim of her advisers. It is difficult to gain sympathy for both women, but Banks has succeeded in the attempt. Elizabeth is

1.- Langbaine, Gerard. "An Account of the English Dramatick Poets." Oxford, 1691, p. 7.

2.- "...it is impossible to avoid being deeply affected at the representation, and even at the reading of his tragic pieceshe seems to have made it his rule to keep the scene per-

jealous, hasty of temper, and irresolute of will; she can yet be gentle, merciful, and self-sacrificing. Mary is a dreamy, melancholy woman who fears to take love when it comes to her. She will not yield to Norfolk's wooing as long as the union is dangerous to him. When he is imprisoned and there is little chance of his escaping death, she is proud to acknowledge her love.

The performance of "The Albion Queens" and the disputes arising from its licensing revived English interest in the fortunes of Mary Queen of Scots, an interest that produced in 1725 Mrs. Eliza Haywood's "Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots: Being the Secret History of her Life, and the Real Causes of all her Misfortunes Containing a Relation of many Particular Transactions in her Reign; never yet Published in any Collection." With this work Mrs. Haywood began that series of scandal novels⁽¹⁾ which won her a place in Pope's "Dunciad" and his arraignment of her as one of "those shameless scribblers....who, in libellous memoirs and novels,

petually alive, and never suffer his characters to droop. The 'Island Queens' well preserved that power of affecting the passions which appears through all his works, and sometimes makes ample amends for want of poetry and language." Baker, David Erskine and Jones, Stephen. "Biographica Dramatica." Longman, London, 1812, vol. 2, p. 336.

1.- "A scandal novel or secret history is that type of pseudo-historical romance which interpreted actual history in the light of court intrigue. The writers proceeded on the theory that secret history in recognizing woman's influence upon the destiny of nations was more true than 'pure' history, which took into account only religious, social, or moral factors in judging the conduct of kings and statesmen." Whicher, George Frisbie. "The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood," Columbia University Press, New York, 1915, p. 96.

reveal the faults or misfortunes of both sexes, to the ruin of public fame or disturbance of private happiness!"

The work was drawn from fifteen or sixteen biographies of Mary hastily translated from the French to compete with a rival volume, "The History of the Life and Reign of Mary Stuart," published a week earlier. It differs from Mrs. Haywood's fiction only in the large proportion of events between the scenes of flaming passion and romantic ardor which she drew so frequently. "As history it is worthless, and its significance as fiction lies merely in its attempt to incorporate imaginative love scenes with historical fact."⁽¹⁾

Mary Stuart Literature to 1725

With the year 1725 there came a decline in the popularity of the Mary Stuart story, and for fifty years there was no novel or drama in which the Scottish queen was a principal figure. By that time the main outlines of its episodes had been determined. Riemer had taken the murder of Darnley and the union with Bothwell as the moment in "Von hohen Vermählungen," the German dramas had concerned themselves with Mary's execution, and Banks had utilized Norfolk's love for Mary.

By 1725, too, there had appeared the three possible attitudes which an author might adopt toward Mary Stuart. The first, that of the ardent Catholic seeing her a queenly

1.- Whicher, George Frisbie, "The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood," p. 97.

martyr, had been selected by Jesuit writers, who had given it prominence in German and Austrian universities and in the villages of the Tyrol. The type had been popular until about 1670, when the growing spirit of toleration had made its aggressive Catholicism unpleasant. The last Jesuit drama that appeared was the "Riccius" (1705) of Karl Kolczawa, differing from its predecessors in that here, for the first time in a continental religious drama, Mary is subordinated to Riccio. He is seen as a blameless foreigner who shares his queen's martyrdom.⁽¹⁾

"Riccius" is significant in that it combines the religious motive with a second attitude toward Mary Stuart - that of the author who sets a story of his own creation against a background of historical fact and who cares less to be scientifically accurate than to write entertainingly. Without compunction he will add a new lover to the list of Mary's gallants, attribute children to her and Bothwell or to her and Norfolk, and dwell upon the amours of Elizabeth and Leicester. Like Regnault and Madame de Lafayette, he may use Mary's fate merely as a picturesque setting by emphasizing one of the minor figures in the story.

Over half the novels and plays interested in Mary Queen of Scots show this use of history for its romantic

1.- "Riccius" follows the dramas of Prague, Krems, and Neuberg in a close imitation of the classical tragedy, with a heavenly chorus and attendant virtues supporting the lovely martyr. The play presents Riccius' attempt to rid the court of English conspirators, his partial success, and his downfall through Darnley's groundless jealousy. The style is pedantic. Long descriptions of political ethics, conjugal felicity, and Catholic dogma are introduced.

suggestion and its color. Several have a desire to present her vividly and completely and to suggest an interpretation of her career based on reliable evidence. A far greater number, however, prefer not to describe her as a living woman. She is for them a name with many associations of pomp, glory, and passion, and they set her, a puppet figure, in their stories of adventure and intrigue. As literature they rank with Mrs. Haywood's scandal novel of 1725.

By 1725 also not only had the religious and romantic aspects of the Mary Stuart problem been considered, but there had been an examination of her early years in Scotland by an analyst of human character interested in laying bare the inner motives that sway mankind. Johannes Riemer, the obscure German schoolmaster at Weissenfels, had attempted to discover objectively what there was in Mary's nature and in her environment that led her to react as she did in the crises of her life. He was ready to accept her as "a respectable type of royal womanhood, a pardonable if not admirable example of human character," (1) and he neither accused her or defended her. The impression that her conduct makes upon him is regret that her nature was not firm enough or fine enough to withstand temptation.

In the development of the Mary Stuart tradition in literature "Von hohen Vermählungen" is unique. After the decline of the Jesuit drama, English men of letters were free

1.- Swinburne, Algernon Charles. "Note on the Character of Mary Queen of Scots." Fortnightly Review, vol. 37, 1882, p. 14.

to choose either of two courses: they might follow Regnault and Madame de Lafayette in using Mary's fate as picturesque material, or they might follow Riemer in a minute analysis of her character. Their dependence on French modes during the Restoration led them to choose the former path. Not until Swinburne's trilogy (1865, 1874, 1881) did any novelist or dramatist attempt the psychological study of Mary's character that Riemer had undertaken in 1679.

II. MARY STUART IN LITERATURE FROM 1725 TO 1820

Unfavorable Criticism of Mary Stuart

For a period of fifty years after the publication of Mrs. Haywood's secret history there was no mention in literature of Mary Stuart. The pseudo-classical spirit of the age of Addison, reflecting the temper of aristocratic French literature, regarded unfavorably the selection of modern themes and looked to the classics for its models in form and substance. As a result there was little dramatic literature of native character in England during the early eighteenth century, and none at all with a reference to Mary Stuart. John Banks' "The Albion Queens" had remained since 1674 the only important endeavor to defend her.⁽¹⁾

Mary's fame had been permanently blackened by the wide circulation that the English had given to the accusations of Buchanan and Drury. During the reign of Elizabeth no charitable comment might appear, and any effort at redeeming her name in the reign of James I or Charles I would have been a hazardous undertaking. James did, however, forbid under penalty of death the publication of Buchanan's pamphlets. A few historians had written impartial accounts of her life, but the poets and dramatists were more successful in setting their views before the public. The English people, moreover, were glad to believe any charges against Mary, a foreigner,

1.- "Biographica Dramatica," vol. 3, p. 24, no. 151, lists a drama "Mary Queen of Scotland, advertised among others, as sold by Wellington, in St. Paul's Churchyard, in 1703." This probably refers to the early printing of Banks' tragedy, which was known under various titles, particularly "The Island Queens" and "The Albion Queens."

a Frenchwoman, and a Catholic. Elizabeth was a benevolent queen, with whom the majority of her subjects were well satisfied, and no exaltation of Mary could be popular as long as the Virgin Queen was universally admired. This extravagant praise, almost adoration, of Elizabeth continued well into the century,⁽¹⁾ until the efforts of the Pretenders to regain the throne brought the Stuart cause into prominence.

The Attitude of German Cynicism Toward Mary Stuart

During the period Mary became the prey of contemporary ballads and long narrative poems which exhibited her the incarnation of vice.⁽²⁾ Not only was she so regarded in England and Scotland, but she was the object of similar attacks throughout Germany, a country which at the time of her death had hailed her as a saint and martyr. The best example of this attitude is "Marie Stuart," by C. H. Spiesz, in many ways the most revolting treatment that the story has ever produced.⁽³⁾ It is not the fate of Mary that Spiesz delights in dwelling upon, for he presents her so inconsistently virtuous and sinful that she inspires no sympathy. He is absorbed in the wickedness of Murray and Walter Mildmay (the English chancellor), men whose hatred of the queen arises

1.- "If Walpole (in 'Royal and Noble Authors') had treated the character of Queen Elizabeth with disrespect, all the women should tear him to pieces, for abusing the glory of her sex." ("The Works of Dodsley," M. W. Montagu. London, 1803, vol. 5, p. 150).

2.- See Child, F. J. "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads," Boston, 1882; Cranstoun, James, "Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation," Edinburgh and London, 1891; and Irving, David, "History of Scottish Poetry," Edinburgh, 1861, pp. 405, 422, 441.

3.- Played before a royal audience in Berlin in 1787.

from a fundamentally evil nature and an inhuman blood-lust.

Spiesz uses "The Albion Queens" as his source, but the material is transformed by his cynical conception of man's essential depravity. Mary especially suffers at his hands. In the first act she is a spoiled, petulant coquette; in the succeeding four she is a poor, wronged woman. As a heroine she has no dramatic meaning, no tragic significance. From the first her lot is decided. Murray and Mildmay are not disconcerted by her innocence, for they have decided that she must die.⁽¹⁾

Elizabeth, like her rival, is greatly debased in Spiesz' effort to show that there is no nobility in the motives that guide mankind. In "The Albion Queens" she genuinely weighs her natural tendency to mercy with what she has come to consider the best interests of the state. Her indignation at Mary's ingratitude is that of a virtuous woman and a dignified sovereign. Even after her decision is made she would modify it did not a sense of justice forbid. In "Marie Stuart," however, Elizabeth is only nominally "merciful, just, tender-hearted"; the courtiers' plaudits deceive no one. She exhibits as a queen a moral elevation and a power of delivering intensely personal invective that would do credit to an English fishwife, and as a woman a heartlessness and violent hat-

1.-- Mildmay: "Oder abnahm! Gleichviel! Sind die Briefe authentisch, um so besser, sind sie falsch, auch gut! Sie beweisen doch, was sie beweisen sollen.....Sie befördern meinen Plan und ich den Ihrigen. Sey er gerecht oder nicht, gilt wohl beyden gleich. Mit engen Gewissen und offenen Herzen, mein lieber Graf, kommt man bey Hofe nicht weit. Wenn sich ein Glück anbietet, der musz es annehmen, und ist's nicht eins, ob man auf einen graden oder Seitenweg danach ausgeht?"

red that disgraces her sex. Instead of judiciously determining Mary's sentence she entertains her counsellors with an amusing bit of comedy: she flies into a terrific passion at the sight of the casket letters (which she has ordered them to prepare) and is with difficulty restrained from starting to Fotheringay for hand to hand encounter with her royal sister.

After this impressive view of English royalty one expects the fitting close to the play that comes with Mary's farewells at the scaffold. The grisly suggestion of the scene is worthy of Spiesz in his best manner. Amid the groans of her maids Mary is led off the stage, there are three thuds as the axe descends again and again, the first blow having been ineffective, and Murray, complacently rubbing his hands, departs for London to delight Elizabeth with the news. After this revolting picture one's faith in human character in its potential nobility is somewhat restored on learning that the play was received with great hostility by Berlin audiences.⁽¹⁾

Renewed Interest in Mary in Mid-Eighteenth Century England

While poets and playwrights were emphasizing the sensational elements in Mary's career, the situations and contrasts of character that were theatrically effective, historians were beginning a critical examination of the accusations against her. There was the problem of the casket

1.- "Das Publikum nahm dieses mittelmäßige Produkt nach Verdienst auf. Sich an diesen Stoff zu wagen, ist ein kühner Gedanke eines Autors, dem es sowohl an Sprache als an Erfindung fehlt." ("Literatur- und Theaterzeitung," Wien, 1784, p.119)

letters, which, forged or genuine, had brought to an end her long stay in prison. There were the perplexities to be explained in her early reign in Scotland, especially her complicity in Darnley's murder and her relations with his murderer. There was yet to be determined the position of Riccio and Chastelard as the amorous dupes of the queen or as blameless attendants, and there was the task of uncovering her real personality to determine its part in bringing the final catastrophe.

In 1754 there appeared the first important defense of Mary in Goodall's "Examination of the letters said to be written by Mary queen of Scots to James earl of Bothwell, also an inquiry into the murder of King Henry." It was followed by the histories of William Robertson and David Hume, both critical though somewhat prejudiced studies of her reign, and by John Whitaker's "Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated." The latter work is devoted to the casket letters and regards Mary's death as an act in which "Elisabeth's avowed passions of rivalry were much more intimately concerned, than the well-feigned purposes of interest or religion."⁽¹⁾

But these studies, admirable though they were for their careful examination of sources, were not actuated solely by a desire for historical accuracy. In part they owed their

1.- "It was an English queen who could do this," continues Whitaker, "it was one of the most enlightened princes that ever sat on the throne of England; it was one, whose name I was taught to lisp in my infancy as the honour of her sex, and the glory of our isle."

choice of subject to the movement of sentimentalism which dominated English letters in the last half of the century, after death in 1744 removed Pope's brilliant example. The zeal for law and order which characterized the classical spirit had sacrificed any great interest in the emotions. It had set up rigid standards of form, beauty, polish, and refinement, but their appeal was to the intellect, the mind trained to appreciate subtle distinctions. Now, in reaction, men were turning to events in the past or in remote parts of the earth to escape from the world of London coffee-houses and drawing-rooms. Shakespeare was successfully revived by Garrick. A new impetus was given to the drama by the inclusion, as serious material, not as objects of satire, of lives which because of rudeness or humble station had been regarded with contempt by the aristocratic Augustan age. Adherents of the school came to see human nature as fundamentally good, pure, and lovely, with tragedy consisting of virtue in undeserved distress. Evil was a matter of the emotions, created by non-conformity, and atonable by subsequent rectitude.

It was natural that Mary's cause should attract both historians and dramatists in this age dominated by a new feeling for man, greater tenderness for the unfortunate, greater sympathy for the humble and obscure, and awakened interest in life in distant countries and earlier times. The accusations against her had been so bitter and so prolonged that on first glance she seemed the victim of slander-

ous malice. The decline of Elizabeth's popularity made possible the praise of a rival queen,⁽¹⁾ and the abatement of religious hatred allowed an emphasis on the pathos of Mary's death not permitted in a time of bitter strife between Catholics and Protestants. Mary might be viewed as a pure, noble-minded woman caught inextricably in the toils of circumstance and bearing heroically her unmerited suffering. At the same time there were interesting possibilities in the view that recognized her as an evildoer but which promptly exculpated her by showing her innate goodness.

Mary Stuart Viewed by the School of Sentimentalism

It was in the guise of a virtuous woman unjustly brought to death that Mary Queen of Scots appeared in English literature during the eighties and nineties. She was the heroine of a play by Dr. Thomas Francklin,⁽²⁾ a play, "Mary Queen of Scotland" by John Yorke,⁽³⁾ and a long novel, "The

1.- A review in 1784 of "The Albion Queens" illustrates this attitude, not possible a century earlier: "The characters of both queens seem to be at length clearly understood. Abilities of the first class at that time were the qualifications of both - but a Good Woman would conceive it a profanation to have it said, her heart was not better than either that of the one or the other."

2.- In "Biographica Dramatica," vol. 3, p. 24 there is listed a tragedy, "Mary Queen of Scots, in Ms. bound with a volume of Dr. Francklin's two printed tragedies, and bearing internal evidence of having been written by him. The author is Dr. Thomas Francklin ("Dictionary of National Biography," vol. 1, p. 252), whose eldest son in 1837 published the play, till then in manuscript. "Thomas Francklin, Mary Queen of Scots, an Historical Play, edited by Lieutenant-Colonel William Francklin." Pickering, London, 1837.

3.- Notes and Queries, series 7, no. 8, July-December, 1889, p. 486 ff. refers to "Mary, Queen of Scotland: an Historical Tragedy" (c. 1780) by "John Yorke" of Gouthwaite, Yorkshire.

Recess," by Sophia Lee. The latter work is especially in the mood of the sentimentalist, setting forth Mary's love for the two daughters which she bears to Norfolk after their secret marriage at Tutbury.⁽¹⁾

Perhaps the most perfect illustration, however, of eighteenth century sentimentalism influencing the story of Mary Stuart is the "Mary Queen of Scots" by John St. John, played by Kemble and Mrs. Siddons at Drury Lane, March 30, 1789.⁽²⁾ It follows Banks closely, often borrowing unchanged its dialogue.⁽³⁾ It differs from its predecessors in its complete disregard for the unities and its insistence of the pathos of Mary's last days. There is evinced, as in Banks, sympathy for both queens, each an admirable woman, and there is similarly much made of Norfolk's struggle between love and honor. It is significant of a change from the heroic play to the romantic or sentimental play that Norfolk here unhesitatingly places love foremost.⁽⁴⁾ The dramatic formula

1.- "The Recess was not a masquerade, but the plot and characters slightly picture the reign of Elizabeth. This was one of the first novels in which there was an attempt to represent a past age with something like accuracy. As this was the first historical novel, using the term in the modern sense, it had perhaps a right to be one of the poorest for it is impossible to conceive three volumes of print in which there are fewer sentences that leave an impress on the mind than this once popular novel." (Whitmore, Clara H. "Woman's Work in English Fiction." G. P. Putnam's, New York, 1910, p. 106.

2.- Genest, John. "Some Account of the English Stage," vol. 6, pp. 535-35.

3.- Compare Banks Act V, scene 1 with St John Act V, scene 4.

4.- As in Banks, there is evidence externally of this struggle in the duke's mind, but the weight of sentiment is cast so completely in favor of love that there is little necessity for a choice. Norfolk, whose wavering in the heroic "The Albion Queens" was regarded as commendable, is now viewed somewhat contemptuously - the "half-paced, soft, scrupulous fool."

underlying the play is obviously the belief that tragedy consists of the misfortunes of the righteous. In consequence the play contains no real conflict⁽¹⁾ and reaches no high level of intensity.⁽²⁾

Weakness of Sentimental Interpretation of Mary Stuart

The reason for the failure of these sentimentalist novels and plays is their inability to see Mary's life completely and to present it with all its inconsistencies. Their authors deal with the materials, in their optimistic faith in human purity, as inadequately as those, like Spiesz, who exhibit Mary essentially wicked and ignoble. The two choose different periods in her life, the eighteenth century sentimentalist taking her imprisonment and execution, the time when she seems most the victim of tyranny and oppression, and

1.- St. John neglects the opportunities which he has for spirited description and resorts to frequent soliloquies to aid in the exposition. He entirely omits an interview between Elizabeth and Mary, a scene that was very effective in "The Albion Queens." The sources of action are not seen; events only are presented, and they in summary fashion.

2.- This lack of dramatic warmth was apparent in the stage production. A contemporary review (European Magazine, vol. 15, 1789, p. 243) speaks of the play as rather a narrative than a drama: "a versification of parts of Robertson's History and is cold and uninteresting. No person ever saw Mrs. Siddons in such a colorless role. No one ever witnessed Bank's play on this subject without tears; but even the efforts of Mrs. Siddons could hardly produce any at this representation.....Some parts of the piece had a ludicrous effect, and some were tedious. It had a most powerful support from the audience of the first night; but with every assistance of scenes, dresses, and excellent acting, will probably never be popular."

The published version of the play, however, reached a third edition within the year.

the materialist selecting her early rule in Scotland, years when she seems a heartless, immoral coquette. Writers of the two schools alike isolate her character from its historical setting and portray it to win pity or arouse repulsion. A century earlier the reverse had been true, her personality being ignored and the factors in her environment receiving first attention. Catholic writers had seized upon the religious issue to canonize her, and apologists had described the political forces at work in England and Scotland to exculpate her or justify Elizabeth. Dramatists in the eighteenth century as well as in the seventeenth century had been unable to find the middle ground - to portray religious and political conditions without giving theological discussions or treatises on diplomatic ethics, or, in depicting her personality, to steer between the sordidness and pessimism of scepticism and the puerile optimism of sentimentalism.

The first dramatist to suggest a solution of the difficulty was Vittorio Alfieri, who published in Florence in 1778 his "Maria Stuarda." The author considered the play weak and cold, the only one of his tragedies which he regretted having written. In spite of the unreality and lack of external action for which he condemns it, the play must be reckoned with because of its two innovations. It presents a Protestant reaction to Mary's execution in showing Scotch Presbyterianism rightfully triumphant and it seeks to make Mary the victim of her own deeds, not a puppet with no part in the tragedy which consumes her.

It is probable that Alfieri was not greatly concerned about Mary Stuart's career. The play is one of the many historical tragedies which he wrote and was undertaken at the request of his fiancée, the Countess of Albany, without any thorough study of the period. Had he been anxious to verify his impressions of the story, he might have referred to the old German dramas and the intrigue plays of Diamante and Savaro, which were widely circulated in Italy and which he had read some years before. He chose deliberately to forget them, not wishing to put restraints upon his imagination.⁽¹⁾

"*Maria Stuarda*" would have been merely the ordinary story of Mary's life at Fotheringay with even less historical basis than usual,⁽²⁾ had not Alfieri applied classical tests to the scanty stuff from which he made his play. He was desirous above all of writing a drama which in its severity of spirit, its observance of the unities, and its depiction of a single passion would approach the Greek ideal of tragedy. The French drama of Regnault failed with its formlessness,

1.- Alfieri once boasted that his tragedies had a style and a movement which might not be beautiful but which was his own work. He declined to read Shakespeare lest he might unconsciously model his dramatic technique after that of the Elizabethans.

2.- Morton, for example, does not appear or make himself felt at any point in the action. Murry is in Scotland and in communication with the queen to the last. Lamorre is created by Alfieri's confusion of the Regent with John Knox. Darnley is simply a faithless, thankless husband who has the bad judgment to be jealous, and Bothwell is the urgent champion of the perplexed queen.

he thought, because its protagonist was merely a passive agent. He recognized the difficulty of making Mary a figure with tragic guilt since her story was only the story of a highly unfortunate woman,⁽¹⁾ but he met it by the introduction of the Puritan Lamorre. This character, compounded from Murray and John Knox, forcefully presents Presbyterianism as the faith that can save troubled Scotland. Mary refuses to abjure Catholicism, knowing that her refusal means civil war. In this test, as in others in the play, she fails because her emotions dominate her. An ambitious woman, she will not give the crown matrimonial to Darnley because he will then be her equal. She loves him, inconsistently enough, with a passionate ardor, even while his weakness and arrogance arouse her contempt. "Ah, were I skilled in reigning, as I am in loving thee," she says once, but she makes no effort to deliver the government to wiser hands.

Her lot is not wholly of her own making, however, for environment has forced her into the power of evil courtiers. At the end of the play she dedicates herself to vengeance for Darnley's murder:

"The truth shall be discovered
And let him tremble, whoso'er he be
The atrocious author of a deed like this.
For vengeance now, and nothing else I live."

1.- "stante che chi la fa uccidere è Elisabetta, la natural sua capitale nemica e rivale; e che non v'è tra loro perciò nè legami, nè contrasti di passione, che rendendo trageditabile la morte di Maria, abbenche veramente ingiusta, straordinaria, e tragicamente funesta." (Magnoni, Teresita. "Le donne delle Tragedie di Vittorio Alfieri." Naples, 1900).

But she has trusted too far to Bothwell. There is no hope that she can retain the throne.

The Humanistic Attitude Toward Mary Stuart

Alfieri's fondness for Greek simplicity constantly tends to efface everything but the main lines of the action, and the play, in consequence, lacks warmth.⁽¹⁾ Yet it makes a notable stride forward in the literary history of Mary Stuart, in that it marks a stage between sentimentalism and humanism,⁽²⁾ the former seeing Mary as a naturally noble character, the latter seeing her as inseparably a compound of good and evil. The former sees tragedy in her undeserved distress, while to the latter her real tragedy lies in her fatal weakness, that fault that brings to ruin a character capable of attaining great heights.

1.- The characters are few - five in number (Mary, Darnley, Bothwell, Ormond, the English ambassador, and Lamorre, the apostle of peace - and the narrative moves to its appointed end without any explanatory dialogue. To a certain extent the brevity and restraint are worthy of praise, but they do not allow enough graphic description to give the impression of reality. The episode of Darnley's death, for example, is told as nonchalantly as if no one beyond the four characters in the play were involved.

2.- Three years after St. John's play (1792) appeared Mrs. Mary Deverell's "Mary Queen of Scots - an Historical Tragedy, or Dramatic Poem," of which Genest (vol. 10, p. 201) says: "a poor play, particularly in point of language." "Biographica Dramatica," vol. 3, p. 25, part 1, no. 186 subjoins a "short but perhaps sufficient specimen of this lady's poetry:

Qu. Mary: Earth's summit of bliss i've long since reach'd:
Now in misery chain'd, each state I retrospect."

The play, like Alfieri's "Maria Stuarda," makes Mary the victim of her own sin, but the conception of character is thoroughly in accord with sentimental tenets.

The possibilities for a well-rounded depiction of Mary's character which Alfieri barely touched were realized for the first time in literature by Schiller in his "Maria Stuart." In accordance with the humanistic or classical temper here was undertaken a representation of a drama of human passion against a historical background. The situation Schiller recognized as one with inherent elements that could arouse pity and fear. The chief problem was to build a plot in which Mary would appear acting;⁽¹⁾ the climax must be the inevitable result of her own sin. He therefore invented the figure of Mortimer, who awakened Mary's desire for liberty but effected her destruction when she chose Leicester's love instead of his.

Mary at the beginning of the play feels keenly the wrongs done her, but her old spirit is broken. Her long imprisonment, the separation from her friends, the suspense regarding her fate, the refusal of religious consolation, the remorse for the murder of Darnley - all have brought her so near despair that she endures Paulet's insults with patient dignity.

It is at this time when Mary believes herself completely abandoned that Mortimer declares himself a convert to Catholicism and her devoted adherent. His story of the French court recalls vividly her happy days at Paris, and the news

1.- Schiller arrived independently at this conclusion. He did not read Alfieri until 1803, three years after "Maria Stuart" was written. He knew "The Albion Queens," but he used Buchanan, Hume, and Archenholz as his main sources. For the account of the execution he relied on the description in Brantome.

that the duke of Guise is still scheming for her rescue brings new hope. Sympathetic companionship and the promise of aid work an entire change in her mental condition. She ceases to wait quietly for Elizabeth's decision, and sends a letter to Leicester asking his help. Self-confidence restored by the prospect of release, she refuses to accept Burleigh's announcement of the sentence of the court. With a spirit that she did not show before she presents in an eloquent speech the illegality of her trial, making it clear that tyranny, not justice, has prompted the verdict.

The first act, with its skilful exposition and the keen interest which it arouses in Mary's fortunes, accomplishes more than the entire five acts of St. John's play. Mary is not a woman without faults, but her remorse for her sin is sincere and awakens the reader's pity. She has been endowed by a deeply passionate nature, and her education in France and her surroundings at Holyrood have aided in making her thoughtless and selfish. Her greed for power and a mad infatuation for Bothwell have led her to consent to the murder of Darnley. By the time of the first act her better nature has asserted itself. Her conduct in England has been blameless.

The second act, laid at Elizabeth's court, exhibits Leicester, a selfish, ambitious, cowardly courtier and contrasts his pretended love for the Scottish queen with the ardent, sacrificial passion of Mortimer. It introduces Elizabeth, whom Schiller elsewhere terms his "royal hypocrite,"

a vain jealous woman whose natural cruelty has been developed by the unhappiness of her early years. Her only care is to preserve the appearance of virtue, and she urges Mortimer to murder Mary that she may not have to deliver judgment against her.

In the third act there comes the test of both Mary and Elizabeth. The Scottish queen is jubilant over the liberty which has been granted her, and regards it as an indication of the complete freedom that Leicester will gain for her. Her mental condition is exactly opposite to that in which she appealed to Mortimer for an interview. In her new-found hope of release she has no desire for a reconciliation that will discredit her throughout Europe. She controls herself, however, and humbly pleads her cause. Met with bitter contempt, she answers taunt with taunt, incensed at the endeavor to make her shameful in Leicester's eyes. The world knows the worst of her, and she is better than her name, but Elizabeth covers unchastity with the garb of royal honors. Silent and defeated the English queen withdraws, leaving Mary exultant that Leicester has witnessed her triumph.

She soon learns the worth of his affection. He will risk nothing for her sake, and her conduct has closed to her the last chance of mercy. The one rescue possible for her is Mortimer's plan, which he will undertake only in return for her love. She has sealed her own doom.

The concluding acts show the close of Mary's life.

Her sentence is precipitated by her own deed,⁽¹⁾ but she is innocent of the crime for which she suffers. With composure and resignation she prepares for death, receiving the last comforts of the church when her request for a priest is unexpectedly granted.⁽²⁾ She forgives Leicester his cruel mockery, and goes forth on his arm to the scaffold as she once thought to go forth with him to the altar.

The drama does not end here: Elizabeth cannot triumph over the victim of her jealousy and hypocrisy. Her malice avenges itself upon her. Shrewsbury leaves her, having failed to recall her to her nobler self, her favorite forsakes her, and she is left in tragic isolation.

Schiller's Analysis of the Problem

The greatest advance which Schiller makes is the

1.- The fourth act shows the preparation of the death-warrant. Burleigh tells Leicester that his relations with Mary are known and that their correspondence has been seized. With cowardly selfishness Leicester thinks only of concealing his treason. He orders Mortimer's arrest as a conspirator and urges Mary's immediate execution. In her choice of lovers Mary has made a fatal error of judgment.

When the death-warrant comes before Elizabeth for signature Burleigh and Shrewsbury, the one wicked, the other just, advise her about the wisdom of the deed. The queen realizes that her enemy's death is necessary to the state, but personal hatred is a stronger motive. Mary has come between her and every hope of happiness, and has robbed her of her favorite, Leicester.

The quarrel scene is a controlling factor in Elizabeth's decision. By undertaking a second appeal to Leicester Mary has hastened the catastrophe.

2.- It has been argued by critics, especially by German Protestants that Schiller has introduced Catholic propaganda in allowing Mary to receive the confessional and communion on the stage.

To accuse Schiller of pro-Catholic sympathies is utterly to misunderstand his artistic method. He is intent on bringing to the aid of the narrative as rich and varied a setting as he can devise. The scene adds both pathos and a higher, more spiritual note.

application of the humanistic belief that human character is paradoxically good and bad. Burleigh is a cool, calculating statesman, knowing no scruples when the welfare of the state is involved, but his conduct is mitigated by his sincere love for England. Similarly Mortimer's sensual desires are compensated for by his impulsive, passionate enthusiasm for Mary's cause, for which he can die quietly and uncomplainingly.

It is in Mary that the paradox is most apparent. The thoughtlessness the the waywardness that made her sin with Bothwell have been atoned for by twenty years' unmerited suffering in English prisons. In discouraging Mortimer's plot to assassinate Elizabeth she stands on higher moral ground than before, although she is attracted to Leicester in the same manner that she had been to Bothwell. The quarrel scene shows still further development of her better nature, for she displays a self-control that would have been impossible in earlier days. Yet she is still humanly frail, and when she does give way to her scorn and hatred she becomes violently abusive. In a greater moment of life, the last farewells before her execution, her nobler self again prevails. She resolutely renounces earthly hope, and death, which in the first act held many horrors to her remorseful mind, now is welcomed as a haven where she may expiate her crime.

This Mary combines the unrestrained passion of Riemer's Mary with the serenity, the queenly dignity, and the heroic resignation of Banks' heroine. While in the crises of her life she makes her own decisions, she moulds her ideals

in harmony with the religious, social, and political background. Schiller does not advance these factors in palliation of her offense; he presents them as part of Mary's milieu, by interaction with which her character has been formed. His attitude toward them, in general that of the humanist, is one of reverence for the great institutions - the church, the school, the state, the court - which have been the bearers of culture down through the ages.

An interpretation of Mary Stuart's character which is in complete harmony with that of Schiller occurs in "The Abbot" by Sir Walter Scott (1820).⁽¹⁾ It treats of the queen's captivity at Lochleven and her escape to Niddrie. Both this novel and "Maria Stuart" are informed by a desire to present a human theme against a setting of Scottish history. The

1.- A year after Schiller's "Maria Stuart" (1801) there was published in Edinburgh "Mary Stewart Queen of Scots, a Historical Drama," which dwelt briefly with the early reign of the Scottish queen. It centered around her escape from Lochleven, her flight to England, and the force of the conspiracy against her. The innovation that the drama makes is the unhappy love of George Douglas, rescuer of Mary from Lochleven, and her attendant, Adelaide de Verneul. In 1807 the play again appeared, under the title "Mary Steward Queen of Scots, a Dramatic Poem," with the name of the author, James Grahame. The play was never acted, lacking "that passionate and happy vigour which the stage requires." (Cunningham, Allan. "Biographical and Critical History of the Last Fifty Years," Edinburgh and London, 1852.) Although it is frequently incorrect in composition and "deficient in dramatic effect, this tragedy is not without some claim to praise. The sentiments are often energetic, and suitable to the characters by whom they are expressed; and the author in many places evinces a knowledge of the human heart." ("Biographica Dramatica," vol. 3, p. 25).

"The Death of Darnley" by William Sotheby (1814) is published in a collection entitled "Five Tragedies" (Murray, London, 1814).

novelist, however, is not so much interested as is the dramatist in showing Mary's tragic guilt. He is more absorbed in the conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism in these disturbed, eventful times and is intent on illuminating national history to show how broad political movements, such as the growth of Presbyterianism, have influenced human character.

In consequence he selects Roland Graeme and Catherine Seyton as convenient figures for the central love story and involves them in the religious strife, seen in the election of the new abbot, and in the struggle of political factions. Protestantism is respected as a great historical force. Its representative, Murray, thus cannot be the monster of hatred pictured by Spiesz, and Scott draws him a man in whom evil constantly strives with good. Selfish ambition guides him, but he is not insensible to feelings of pity for his sister.

In the depiction of Mary's character Scott follows Schiller in creating a woman with many noble qualities, kept from happiness by numerous imperfections. He does not commit himself on the question of her knowledge of Bothwell's deed at Kirk o'Field,⁽¹⁾ and the novel leaves with the reader a deep interest in Mary and sympathy for her lot rather than a firm belief in her innocence. She follows the dubious diplomacy of the house of Guise; she delights in taunting the aged Lady Douglas and in using her royal prerogative to in-

1.- When Graeme arrives outside Edinburgh he asks the old falconer who accompanies him concerning the ruins of Kirk o' Field. His guide replies: "Ask no more about it. Somebody got foul play, and somebody got the blame of it, and the game began there that perhaps will not be played out in our time."

sult the older woman; she would readily enter a love intrigue with Roland Graeme or George Douglas if ambition did not restrain her; she becomes temporarily insane under the stress of violent emotion. But for the most part she is a calm, dignified queen, bearing with composure the slights which Ruthven puts upon her. In her relations with her attendants she is a kind, gentle mistress, with a winning charm of manner and sincere regard for their welfare. She is a devout Catholic, but she is never blatant about her faith, as is the Mary of Banks and of Jesuit drama. She is mildly surprised that any one should try to convert her to Protestantism.

Importance of Schiller and Scott in the Mary Stuart Tradition

It is because they recognize the duality in Mary's nature that Schiller's "Maria Stuart" and Scott's "The Abbot" come closer to the heart of the Mary Stuart problem than any novels or dramas written before them. No other works had essayed, or so successfully achieved, a harmony between the various aspects of her career. Whenever religious and political conditions had been discarded, historical truth had been so twisted that Mary appeared either a soulless harlot or a patient, cruelly maligned woman. Scott and Schiller, on the other hand, depicted her as a woman with both harlot and saint in her nature, a woman neither to be condemned nor canonized, a woman who exemplified a noble spirit brought low by human frailty. They did not neglect the important movements of the time but subordinated them as environmental influences upon Mary's life. In each case the story is told not for its own

sake, although it is interesting as a narrative, but for its value as a document of human passions.

III. MARY STUART IN NINETEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE

Minor Sentimental Treatments of Mary Stuart

The interpretation of Mary Queen of Scots as both woman and queen presented by "Maria Stuart" and "The Abbot" was the one that continued popular during the first half of the nineteenth century. The dominant literary temper of the period was sentimentalism. Writers were still turning to the lives of historical personages for colorful settings, and in Mary's fate they saw an opportunity for picturesque, romantic description and a wealth of stirring episode. In general they were indifferent to the problem which Schiller saw as the most insoluble one in the situation - namely, that of making Mary the cause of her downfall. Their main intent was to write entertainingly rather than to illuminate history or to point a moral. Their work is often hasty, showing only superficial study of the original story, but there is often in these novels and plays that use Mary Stuart's fortunes as interesting narrative material⁽¹⁾ a vigorous,

1.- Schiller's "Maria Stuart" was adapted to the English stage and was acted at Covent Garden under the title of "Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots," on December 14, 1819. Kemble and Macready were in the cast. Genest (vol. 9, pp. 49-51) says that the communion scene had been altered to please English audiences, that the play was dull, uninteresting, often absurd, and that it was on the whole well written.

In June of the next year (June 17, 1820) "David Rizzio, a Serious Opera in Three Acts, founded upon Scottish history" was performed. This play by Colonel Ralph Hamilton follows history as recounted by William Robertson. It tells of the love of Rizzio for Mary Livingstone. Mary Stuart is guiltless of unlawful ties with him, but her dependence on his advice incites Darnley's suspicions. At the time of the murder Mary Livingstone avows herself Rizzio's wife. Darnley repents his jealousy but he cannot recall the order which he has given to Ruthven. "Although this is a serious Opera....there are some comic scenes. The serious scenes are injudiciously written in blank verse." (Genest, vol. 1, p. 320; p. 359).

logical portrayal of character and considerable skill in arranging incidents. They are not enduring literature because

An Italian drama dealing with Mary Stuart's execution appeared about this year. In the "Allgemeines Theater Lexikon," Altenburg and Leipzig, 1846, vol. 3, p. 310 this play, "Morte di Maria Stuarda" by Mariano Caracciolo is listed as one of the most noteworthy Italian tragedies of the nineteenth century.

A drama by Elizabeth Wright Macauley entitled "Mary Stuart, a Dramatic Representation" appeared in 1823 (Sherwood, London).

"Mary, Queen of Scots; or, The Escape from Loch Leven," by William Murray, was first performed at the Edinburgh Theatre on October 3, 1825. It follows "The Abbot" in its description of Mary's escape. It is published as no. 408 in "Dicks' Standard Plays," John Dicks, London.

An adaptation of "The Abbot" under the title "Know Your Own Mind," was presented at the Bath Theatre January 13, 1827 with Miss Jarman as Mary Stuart. She had previously played the role for more than fifty nights in Dublin. The dramatization was poor, and there was but one spirited scene - that in which Mary signed her consent to resign the throne (Genest, vol. 9, pp. 400-61).

"Southennan" (1830) by John Galt unfortunately challenges comparison with Scott. Its author is one of the journalists who aided in the intense waver of national feeling that swept Scotland during the latter half of the century. There is evident a patriotic desire to praise everything Scotch. The work has a wide and penetrating observation, gentle humor, pathos, and an admirable skill in drawing homely Scotch character. Galt is lost, however, when he steps beyond his locale. His picture of sovereignty is especially feeble by the side of Scott, who excelled in describing important historical personages. (For an appreciation of Galt see Gordon, R. K. "John Galt," University of Toronto Studies, Philological Series, no. 5).

Mary Russell Mitford's "Mary Queen of Scots" (1831) appears in her "Dramatic Scenes and Other poems." (Whittaker, London).

Three years later (1834) an opera entitled "Maria Stuarda" by Gaetano Donizetti was produced at the San Carlo Theater in Naples. It was played in Milan and Rome in 1835 as "Giovanna Gray" and "Il Buondelmonte" and was given in Florence the next year under its original title.

they skirt the edges of the problem; they are content to peer into one crisis in Mary's career without seeking an imaginative

"Lord Darnley: Or The Keep of Castle Hill, An Original Romantic Drama, in 2 Acts" by Thomas Egerton Wilks (1837) deals with a hunting adventure of the husband of Mary Stuart but is without reference to her. It appears as no. 715 in "Dicks' Standard Plays."

James Haynes is the author of "Mary Stuart; An Historical Tragedy, in five Acts," which was first produced at Drury Lane on January 22, 1840 with Macready in the cast. The subject is the murder of Rizzio. (No. 749 in "Dicks' Standard Plays.")

"The Spae Wife: or, The Queen's Secret" (1853) by Rev. John Boyce (pseud. Paul Peppergrass) presents Elizabeth's persecution of an old Jesuit landowner and his daughter. The two finally escape from her malice by the aid of the Scotch spae wife, who has devoted her life to the task of rescuing Mary. The spae wife has attended Elizabeth during the birth of a son to Leicester, and she holds her knowledge as a threat over the queen. The picture of Elizabeth is far from a pleasant one.

James Grant's novel, "Bothwell," was published in 1854. It "opens in Norway, where he (Bothwell) is an ambassador to the Danish king, with scenes of shipwreck and peril. Lady Bothwell's piteous tragedy, the murder of Darnley, Bothwell's amour and marriage with Mary, his miserable end as a captive in *Malmd*" are described. (Baker, E. A. "Guide to the Best Fiction," p. 74). Kaye ("Historical Fiction," p. 270) says that "for fertility of incident, rapid change of scene, and skilful intermingling of historical with imaginary people and events. Bothwell is not surpassed by any of the romances that came from its author's fertile pen." The novel is a dexterous blend of romance and history, vivaciously presented in the romanticist manner of Dumas. (Saturday Review, vol. 63, 1887, pp. 690-91).

Julius Banne's "Marie Stuart, oder: Die Reformation in Schottland. Drama in fünf Akten." (1860) is a drama which, according to Kipka (p. 362) is crowded with dry theological disputations.

"The Queen's Maries" (1862) by George James Whyte Melville, presents the love affairs of Mary's waiting maids. Mary Hamilton is shown as the queen's rival in Chastelard's affections. Mary Carmichael is the sole one of the five whose romance ends happily. None of the characters is vividly imagined, and there is no illusion of reality. Bothwell is described as a man intensely loyal by nature but who becomes permanently embittered when Mary orders his imprisonment.

grasp of her life as a whole. In them Mary is usually a passive figure, constrained to action by the necessities of the narr-

Three years later there was published in Berlin "Maria Stuart" by Eugen H. von Dedenroth, a novel in which there has been an unsuccessful attempt to follow Schiller.

Ludvig Schneegans in 1868 produced his "Maria, Königin von Schottland" at the Hoftheater in Munich. Grillparzer, speaking of it in his reminiscences, characterizes it as dramatically skilful but somewhat uninspired in its delineation of historical persons. ("Erinnerungen an Franz Grillparzer." Konegen, Wien, 1901, p. 63).

"Anthony Babington. A Drama" (1876) by Violet Fane, deals with the Catholic conspiracy to murder Elizabeth and rescue Mary. Babington, the leader of the six conspirators, joins the plot because of his love for Mary. (Chapman and Hall, London, 1876).

In 1884 M. Quinn published "Mary Queen of Scots. A Tragedy in Three Acts." (Washbourne, London).

The following year saw the publication by Major-General John Watts de Peyster of "Bothwell: an Historical Drama." (New York, 1885).

Rev. Edward Bradley (pseud. Cuthbert Bede) is the author of "Fotheringay and Mary Queen of Scots," published in 1888 (Simpkin, Marshall and Company, London).

Lord Ernest William Hamilton's "The Outlaws of the Marches" (1897) makes no mention of Mary Stuart's fate beyond showing the bold, lawless, border-raiding spirit of the times. The story opens in 1587, the year of her execution, and is laid in the Borderland between England and Scotland. Bothwell's son by his marriage to Lady Jean Gordon is the benefactor of the hero. The original James Hepburn is mentioned with loathing, although every one accredits to him a remarkable charm of manner and attractiveness of personality.

"Riccio," an historical tragedy by David Graham (1898) reverts to the "Riccius" of Karl Kolczawa in making Riccio share in Mary's martyrdom because of his religious convictions.

Frank Mathew is the author of the novel "One Queen Triumphant" (Lane, London, 1899) which deals with the end of the long rivalry between Elizabeth and Mary.

ative. Whenever her guilt is acknowledged in these works it is attributed to a passionate nature, an unfortunate early training, or the force of circumstance. There is little evidence of a desire to define the relation between her character and her environment or to hold her morally responsible for her death. Fate is regarded as blind, illogical, arbitrary, bringing her added suffering by its sudden reversals of situation. Not all of these novels and plays regard her favorably, certain of them portraying her the wicked enemy of the glorious Elizabeth, but they also lack distinction because of their sentimental conception of character and their disregard of the deeper values of the story.

In their choice of materials nineteenth century novelists and dramatists hesitated, for the most part, to challenge comparison with Scott and Schiller. Whenever they do treat the Lochleven period and the final catastrophe they pass over them briefly or with a new interpretation of the events. Instead they devote their attention to Mary's years in France or to the confused, perplexing period between the establishment of the court at Holyrood and the surrender to Murray. Incidents are invented to motivate more adequately her actions, when, for example, the discovery in "Mary Hamilton" of Darnley's liaison with the lady-in-waiting is responsible for Mary Stuart's hatred for her husband, or when, in "The Master of Grey," the treason of the earl is attributed to his hopeless love for his queen.

Other characters of less historical importance come

into prominence in these accounts - Darnley, Bothwell, Riccio, one of the Marys, a court follower, or, frequently an unacknowledged daughter of Mary. They are subjected to a series of incidents which have no relation to the original story but which are offered to explain the inconsistencies in the queen's conduct.

Typical of the development of the Mary Stuart theme in these novels and plays are "Unknown to History" by Charlotte M. Yonge, "The Two Dianas" by Alexandre Dumas, and "Mary Hamilton" by Lord E. W. Hamilton. The first claims to "reveal" history in explaining for the first time a note in Chastelneau's diary to the effect that Mary gave birth to a daughter in Lochleven. Miss Yonge describes the touching reunion of this child with Mary and their happiness together until the queen's execution. The account is quiet and unpretentious, delighting in descriptions of contemporary manners and dwelling with fondness on Mary's maternal love. The captive herself is summarily excused from sin by her pride and her French light-heartedness. She has thought no evil; therefore, she has wrought none.

"The Two Dianas" is true to Dumas' habit of motivating history by love, adventure, and court intrigue. The scene is laid in France under Henri II, with the Comte de Montgomery as hero and the daughter of Diane de Poitiers the heroine. Mary Stuart appears a serene happy princess, naïve in her misunderstanding of the real problems of government but admirably

fulfilling the requirement that a princess be lovely and gracious.⁽¹⁾

"Mary Hamilton" is based upon a sixteenth century ballad⁽²⁾ which brands Mary's attendants as unchaste as she. Mary Hamilton has been secretly married to Darnley, who in his ambition has then contracted a state marriage with the queen. The story revolves upon the effort of both women to win the love of this philandering young prince, an effort that sends Mary Hamilton to the scaffold and Mary Stuart to the arms of Bothwell. The author shows an inability to fasten blame for the bigamous relationship upon either Darnley or his two wives. All are good at heart, and all are stricken with remorse when they realize that unconsciously their lower nature has led them astray.

These three novels in their placid tenor and optimistic faith in human nature are typical of the great number of treatments of Mary during the nineteenth century. They have warmth and color, they are written with facile craftsmanship, but they lack profundity. They present situations which are interesting and episodes that will entertain or perhaps instruct. An earlier period is described, but the description does not show, as does "The Abbot," an anxiety to recreate a preceding epoch to see what lessons there are in men's failure

1.- Dumas is not so charitable in his "Life of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots," a brief historical account of her career interspersed with scenes of passion and adventure, much in the style of Mrs. Haywood's secret history. It admits Mary's crime and makes no effort to excuse it.

2.- Strickland, Agnes. "Lives of the Queens of Scotland." Harpers, New York, 1854, vol. 4, p. 11.

to adjust themselves to that epoch or in their success in doing so. There is little effort to show character a product of innate capacities and environmental forces or as an inseparable mixture of good and evil.

New Tendencies in the Victorian Age

The novels and plays produced after 1830 with this romantic point of view made no permanent impression on the Mary Stuart tradition, because in their attitude toward life they were going counter to the main literary current of the time. The political and social unrest in England which found expression in the Parliamentary reform bill of 1832 and factory legislation was reflected in literature by the substitution of realism for sentimentalism. There was an increasingly strong tendency to sweep away error, conventional restraints of every sort, in order to reveal the underlying truth of human life. Writers like Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot were winning adherents in their effort to ridicule men's foibles, to uncover moral disease, and to rid society of its malformations. The problem of evil, which sentimentalism had avoided by ignoring its existence, became a vital one. Discoveries in science, especially new theories about man's origin, brought about the dissolution of old beliefs without suggesting in their place a reasonable interpretation of the meaning of life. Writers with the sceptical attitude resulting from this lack of new standards took sharp issue with the idealization of human character which sentimentalism had so

energetically presented. They began to subject human character to keen scrutiny to determine the freedom of the will and the relation between man's physical nature and his environment.

In Mary Stuart literature the searching psychological analyses of the springs of human action produces a type of novel and drama that swings to the extreme of pessimism as the works of the first part of the century swung to the extreme of optimism. The first evidence of a new spirit is the "Maria Stuart I Skotland" of Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, a vigorous play with brilliant dialogue and striking act climaxes.

Although Bjørnson places his scenes on Scottish soil and gives his characters Scottish names, they have a boldness, a force, an epic largeness that one associates with the Norse sagas. Mary in particular has a terrific strength. Externally her nature appears calm, quiet, lovely - "gleaming like a diamond and cold like a diamond." Care and hate are foreign to her, and passion has never touched her. She has not sinned with Riccio or with Bothwell. There at first seems no possibility of rousing her, when even the sight of Riccio's murder provokes no more personal response than the thought that it is noble to face death fearlessly.

Within Mary, however, there are horrible depths of passion and lawlessness, depths of which she is utterly unaware. It is the dictates of this violent part of her nature that she follows blindly, thinking in her ignorance that fate

opposes her and that her surroundings are forcing her to destruction. She can turn to no one to solve the riddle of her character; Darnley is an ambitious tyrant, Murray is openly a rebel, and the officers of her government are in league against her. In desperation, forsaken by man and deserted by her God, she yields herself to Bothwell.

Björnson's analysis of Mary leads him to a novel manner of exposition. Each step in the action is an experiment undertaken by one character, like a psychologist, to draw a certain response from another character.⁽¹⁾ The murder of Riccio is an instance of this experimentation. Darnley is not convinced that he can thus regain Mary's affection, but he believes that she may be won back by fear when he has failed to win her back by love.

Swinburne's Psychological Analysis

The force of Björnson's Mary as a tragic heroine is lessened by the fact that to the end of the play she remains in ignorance of the real cause of her ruin. She blames fate for its part in her downfall, while in reality it is the springs of passion within her that impel her to sin. From the beginning her doom is sealed. The blind slave of physical forces which she does not recognize, or which, when she feels, she does not understand, she struggles on through the dark,

1.- This method of composition allows no dramatic climax. The play closes with the dethronement of Mary and the proclamation of popular sovereignty under John Knox. The Presbyterian faith is triumphant and Knox asserts that

"Evil shall be routed
And weakness shall follow
The might of truth shall pierce
To the last retreat of doom."

troublesome days of her reign until the barriers which she has been raising against her happiness become too firm for her to oppose.

Swinburne in his trilogy - "Chastelard," (1865), "Bothwell," (1874) "Mary Stuart," (1881) - does not repeat Björnson's mistake in leaving his heroine without a consciousness of her guilt or the forces of her own nature. He has examined the evidence against Mary Stuart in Buchanan, Robertson, and Knox and has found only one possible interpretation of her conduct: "she hated Darnley with a passionate but justifiable hatred and loved Bothwell with a passionate but pardonable love. For the rest of her career, I cannot but think," he says, "whatever was evil and ignoble in it was the work of education or of circumstances; whatever was good and noble, the gift of nature or of God."⁽¹⁾

In his drama, however, he could not show Mary influenced to her destruction by her early training or her evil surroundings. She must, as in Schiller's "Maria Stuart," be an active agent in the tragedy which destroys her. He makes her then a vicious, fascinating woman, like the Lilith of Dante Gabriel Rossetti.⁽²⁾ "A Venus Crowned who eats the

1.- Swinburne, Algernon Charles. "Note on the Character of Mary Queen of Scots." Fortnightly Review, vol. 37, 1882, p. 25.

2.- Swinburne's description of Lilith ("Essays and Studies," 4th edition, London, 1897, p. 375 ff.) all is applicable to Mary: "Of evil desire or evil repute she has nothing and nothing of good. She is indifferent, equable, magnetic; she charms and draws down the souls of men by pure force of attraction, in no wise wilful or malignant; outside herself she cannot live, she cannot even see; and because of this she attracts and subdues all men at once in body and in spirit."

hearts of Men" Chastelard calls her:

"For all Christ's work this Venus is not quelled,
But reddens at the mouth with blood of men,
Sucking between small teeth the sap o'the veins,
Dabbling with death her little tender lips -
A bitter beauty, poisonous-parled mouth.
.....
I shall escape you somehow with my death."

Love she recognizes as a blind, venomous, overpowering insanity, bitter-sweet, cloying and acid, destroying all the tenderneess in a woman. Knowing what havoc it will bring her, yet she chooses it, preferring to spend one month in glorious abandon than to live through a score of drab, well-ordered years. Men are toys to her, and she delights in driving them to madness. She is not offended by Chastelard's intrusion into her apartment, for it gratifies her to know her power over him. "This suicidal young monomaniac" has an unusual fire and vigor, qualities that attract her. He is, like her, an epicure in sensations, deliberately cultivating his mad infatuation for her because he is conscious that in his absorption lies the greatest peace he can ever find.

The man who can hold Mary must be her master, however, and when Chastelard becomes her slave she tires of him. He seems resolved on blazoning their relation through France and Scotland, and she is glad that she can discard him before her reputation is tarnished. Never intending to grant him official pardon, she goes to his prison cell to caress him, luxuriating in the sensation of having a strong man ready to die for love of her. With a callousness that shocks even the hardened Murray, who refuses to dip his hands in her sin, she

turns to Bothwell and goes with her new lover to witness the execution of the old.

A morbid craving for sensual pleasure attends her passage through the years, as she goes from one love to another, feeling that life is short and beauty fleeting. As the inevitable of her animal lusts her sense of values becomes dulled; she can no longer indulge in the piercing self-analysis of "Chastelard." Passion coarsens her and she appears an embittered woman, linked in marriage with a man whom she hates, and doomed never to find a nature more masterful than hers. "Men must love you in love's spite," Chastelard has told her

"For you will always kill; man by man
Your lips will bite them dead; yea, though you would
You shall not spare one; all will die of you."

Mary has chosen her course in life deliberately and she never regrets her decision. Resolute, still defiant after twenty years in English prisons, she hails death gladly: "Mary has lived out her passion and her hate." When life has no more zest, variety, storm and stress of emotion, she is willing that the sentence of the court be administered. She does seek to regain in ecstatic piety the enthusiasm and vigor of her early years, but she is too unwilling to relinquish earthly pleasures to become a religious zealot.

But Mary cannot escape fate:

"The bitter tongue through bitter speech shall rue,
Let bloody stroke for bloody stroke be law,
The doer must suffer. 'Tis the world-old saw."

Through all these years there has been beside Mary one woman who typifies the spirit of justice. The unhappy Mary Beaton, who loved Chastelard devotedly, pledges herself at his execution to bring the same fate to Mary. "I will never leave you till you die," she assures the frightened queen on their flight to England, and the words have a meaning that Mary does not understand. Mary Beaton, however, is not a silent avenger, standing beside her mistress and ready to bring her to destruction. She serves Mary faithfully and well during the tempestuous days after Darnley's murder, and shares the long imprisonment in England. It is her duty to perform these services, and she performs them conscientiously, although she regards with contempt the queen's weakness.

The climax of the trilogy is a short scene in "Mary Stuart" where the queen asks Mary Beaton to enliven their dreary day with a song. The maid sings an old song of Chastelard's, but the queen has completely forgotten it. Mary Beaton has hesitated to use against Mary the letter which the angry captive addressed, but never sent, to Elizabeth, taunting her with her bastard birth. Mary Beaton has retained the letter, determined to use it unless the queen shows some sign of pity and remorse for Chastelard. She sees now that what has been the great tragedy of her life is merely a minor episode in the queen's past. She forwards the letter to Whitehall, where it hastens the signing of the warrant. Then, her mission performed, she can retire to France to mourn her lover.

The suggestion that the death of Chastelard and the

memory of Mary Beaton bring Mary to the block is poetic and just. It unifies and completes the trilogy, which otherwise would be the picture of a passionate woman brought to death accidentally rather than inevitably as the result of her crime. In this unity the three plays make a powerful study of human passions, laid bare and analyzed with the skill of the scientist. The character drawing is within narrow lines, but within its limits it is accurate and vivid.

The chief danger in Swinburne's depiction of Mary as the personification of cruelty and lust is that the plays will be little more than sordid, revolting accounts of her amours. To a certain extent this danger is not avoided. There are presented few noble traits of character, for Mary is no worse than her corrupt court. Scotland is a land of wild godless men; Darnley is a despicable craven, who requites his wife for her infidelity by his intrigue with Mary Hamilton; Bothwell is a brutal libertine; Chastelard hovers on the brink of insanity. The sight, in addition, of Mary Beaton watching down the years for a chance to avenge her lover's death is repugnant. Swinburne casts over his dark scene a graphic imagery and a haunting melody of verse, but even poetical beauty cannot disguise the cynical interpretation of the principal figures.

The picture which Björnson and Swinburne present is as extreme as that drawn by the sentimentalists. The treatment of man's vices is too stark, too unmitigated, ignoring the praiseworthy qualities in Mary Stuart as unconcernedly as the

novels of the preceding period ignored the evil ones. A just interpretation of Mary's character should recognize both. There must have been possibilities for good in her, for she inspired a devotion in her attendants and leaders in Scotland that surpassed loyalty or religious prejudice. There must have been reprehensible tendencies in her, for historians have now generally accepted her complicity in Darnley's murder and the authenticity of the casket letters. There is no attempt in Björnson and Swinburne to reconcile these opposing forces within her, and the value of the psychological study is lessened by the neglect of an important part of the problem.

IV. MARY STUART IN TWENTIETH CENTURY LITERATURE

General Tendencies in Treatments of Mary Stuart

The cause of Mary Stuart has been ably presented during the last twenty years. In history Innes, Lang, and Mumby have examined state documents and diplomatic correspondence and drawn from them a tolerant picture of the young queen. In novels built for popular consumption by Lee, Major, Pease, and Cullen⁽¹⁾ the broadly romantic aspects of her life have been

1.- "The Gentleman Pensioner: A Romance of the Year 1569" by Albert Lee (1900) tells of "Catholic plots to release Mary and place her on the English throne. One of the Gentlemen Pensioners is entrusted by the Queen with important letters and undertakes a journey full of peril. Queen Mary was at the time in prison in the charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury; and Lord Hunsdon, in command of the troops in the West, is instructed to relieve the Earl and take the Captive Queen to a place of security.....Interwoven with the descriptions of public tumult and veiled conspiracy is the troubled love-story of the Gentleman Pensioner." (Baker, E. A. "A Guide to Historical Fiction," p. 48).

"Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall" (1902) by Charles Major, (pseud. Edwin Cuskoden) is a popular romance of the Romeo-Juliet love of Dorothy Vernon for Sir John Manners. The narrator introduces a love affair of his own with Mary Queen of Scots whom he paints as selfish, treacherous, and frankly wanton. Elizabeth has much the same character.

Henry Christopher Bailey's "The Master of Gray" (1903) takes the period of Mary's captivity in England. Its central character is Patrick Gray, a prominent Scotch earl whose desertion of his queen is attributed to his unrequited love for her. Except for this variation the story follows that outlined in Miss Strickland's life of Mary Stuart.

Howard Pease in "With the Warden of the Marches: or, The Vow by the 'Nine Stane Rig'" (1909) tells in broad Scotch of Liddesdale border raids during the time of Queen Mary. Bothwell is the most noted personage who appears, and he is set forth as a gallant leader of men. The work abounds in antiquarian learning but the dialect in which it is cast renders much of it unintelligible to the modern reader.

William Robert Cullen in "The Unwedded Bride" deals with Mary Queen of Scots and the dissensions of Papists and Protestants in Aberdeen and Edinburgh. The novel was published in 1910.

set forth, and in that by Benson there has been a return to the early Catholic adulation of her.⁽¹⁾ In the historical novel Maurice Hewlett has made a remarkably faithful and graphic study of Scotland of the mid-sixteenth century. In drama her story has been told,⁽²⁾ most adequately by Michael Field,⁽³⁾ Ada Sterling,⁽⁴⁾

1.- "Come Rack! Come Rope!" by Father Hugh Benson (1912) sets forth events accurately but Mary has never appeared more blameless, or more insipid, or the Jesuits in a fairer light. The book is full of stirring adventure - the flight of the proscribed Jesuits, the Babington conspiracy, the trial and execution of Mary - and abounds in analyses of religious emotion. Helena Concannon reviewing the novel in the Catholic World (vol. 99, 1914, pp. 635-45) speaks of Mary as standing for Catholic England, "a little worn and weary, and middle-aged, and unattractive except to the few faithful souls who know her best. But to the others....she is a mistress to be fled from. So England leaves the old faith for the new."

2.- H. Cornelius is the author of a trilogy: "James Stuart, Graf von Murray" (1897); "Elisabeth, Königin von England" (1898); and "Maria Stuart" (1903).

"Elizabeth of England" by Nathaniel S. Shaler (1903) is a "dramatic romance in 5 parts." In its adulation of Elizabeth it reverts to the early eighteenth century view of Mary as a monster of vice and sexual morbidity.

3.- "Michael Field" is the pseudonym of Catherine Bradley and Emily Cooper.

4.- Appearing six months after Drinkwater's "Mary Stuart," Ada Sterling's "Mary Queen of Scots" (1921) is the latest drama to deal with the story. Miss Sterling in the preface states her purpose of revising Schiller's play to meet the requirements of the modern stage. She adapts from Scott scenes of Mary's life at Lochleven, and begins the account with Mary's flight from Calais.

The first episode, Miss Sterling's own work, is well written and introduces an interesting dramatic conflict. There is a decided loosening of the tension when the author slights this conflict in the succeeding scene. The play aims to touch merely the crises of Mary's life, and each of necessity receives meager treatment.

The earlier accounts with Miss Sterling selects for abridgement are those of Schiller and Scott.

and John Drinkwater.

These works do not break sharply with those at the end of the preceding century, and their sole difference from them is a tendency toward moderation. In them Mary is neither the picturesque martyr of Banks nor the pathetic queen conceived by Scott's romantic imagination nor yet the morbid harlot of Swinburne. They are, for the most part, content to admit her guilt without excusing it by reference to environmental conditions or by insistence on the physical necessities of her nature. Her weakness is not condoned; it is accepted without comment.

These works, further, stay closely within the commonly accepted outlines of the story. They evince none of that desire to "explain" history by the introduction of imagined incidents and characters that the sentimental novelists fifty years earlier showed. The distinctive quality about them, and this is particularly true of the three productions of the period with literary merit, is that they do not make striking additions or novel interpretations but that they work patiently over the materials in a spirit of tolerance. In one sense, as a result of this leniency toward the dramatis personae, Field's "The Tragic Mary" may be called a work of tolerant sentimentalism, and Hewlett's "The Queen's Quair" and Drinkwater's "Mary Stuart" tolerant psychological analyses of Mary's personality.

Modified Sentimentalism in "The Tragic Mary"

Perhaps the meaning of these terms will become clearer on an examination of the novel and the plays themselves. It has been said that sentimentalism in its purest form viewed

Mary Stuart as an essentially noble character unjustly suffering imprisonment and when it dwelt upon her early years, as it rarely did, it forgave her because of her innate goodness. It portrayed her, as in "The Tragic Mary," a woman whose attendant could say of her: "I have had brave thoughts since she questioned me, and I will love her to my heart's end." It showed her an unsuspecting queen who could arouse by her charity of mind a tribute in "The Tragic Mary" from so selfish a character as Lethington:

"The queen acts in a noble childishness
Of unsuspicion, ready to espouse
Whoever is accused, since she herself
So rankly charged, is wholly without fault."

It emphasized the appeal which the humbler sentiments made to her and stressed the redemptive power of nature on her spirit. In accord with sentimental practice Field makes her heroine a woman who delights in ordinary housewifely duties and who turns after stormy council sessions to wild rides in the moonlight. In an intimate contact with nature her serenity is restored.

"The Tragic Mary" shows also the influence of the psychological studies of Mary's character in the previous century. She is depicted a proud passionate woman, a queen, the author says in the preface, with "majesty of intellect, conscious of the burden of her beauty, and devoting every power of spirit and sense to the reception or excitement of desire." Her nature lies somewhere between contemporary judgments of her - the fool that her officers consider her and the wicked woman that the savage, brutal Knox opposes. She is normal

womanhood exalted to sovereignty and bearing royal dignities because her duty compels it, even though she prefers domestic happiness. Her fate is not so much the tragedy of a noble mind brought low through human weakness as the pathetic lot of the woman raised above her proper station. Bothwell's fall has more real elements of tragedy in it, for the earl is a strong, honest lover whose ambition and lust for power bring his destruction:

"I have so much to hope, so much to do!
 O happiness! I only look on death
 To feel life's manifold inducements grow
 More glorious and hazardous than ever
 They were before; my every appetite,
 Each mighty muscle in me seems to shout
 As through a lifted trumpet! I will live,
 I will possess, and let the universe
 Endure my depredations."

The principle that underlies the dramatic structure of "The Tragic Mary" is that which animates Greek tragedy - the belief that the emotions of the audience are stirred more by the consequences of an action than by the action itself. The play thus comes to resemble Alfieri's "Maria Stuarda" in its small number of characters - five in all - and its lack of external action. The conflict is a mental and spiritual one, and the play sets forth in one scene after another the stages in the inner development. The murder of Darnley occurs on the stage but the audience is interested in the mind of the murderer, in the motives that finally lead him to the act and the memories, regrets, and fears that follow it. The verse of the play is strong, direct, and beautiful, except for occasional daring phrases and extravagant similes.

A Realistic Historical Novel in "The Queen's Quair"

"The Tragic Mary" illustrates modifications which the late nineteenth psychological spirit had made in one type of Mary Stuart literature. "The Queen's Quair," by Maurice Hewlett, (1903) shows similar changes occurring in the historical novel dealing with the same subject. "A book about Queen Mary - if it be honest - has no business to be an exercise in the romantic," says the author in the preface. "If the truth is to be told, let it be there." Following this ideal he draws a stern, realistic picture of a stirring period, going far beyond Scott's purpose in "The Abbot" of presenting wide historical movements for their significance in national life. He exhibits in minute detail even the most trifling incidents of the story - the denunciations of Knox, the intrigues of the nobles, the execution of Lord Huntly, Mary's marriage with Darnley, Riccio's murder, the conspiracy ending in Darnley's assassination, the union with Bothwell, the fiasco of Carbery, and the humiliating return to Edinburgh. Every historical character, important or insignificant, is crowded into his pages, with a great confusion of motives. There results, not the simplicity of great tragedy as in Schiller, but a meticulous, scholarly study of an earlier epoch. The story does not touch the heart of the reader, although it its gorgeous diction, its facile workmanship, and its lifelike recreation of the period it makes a strong appeal to his imagination.

In "The Abbot" the tragedy of Mary Stuart was the loss of her throne; in this modern realistic novel the tragedy

lies in the breaking of her spirit.⁽¹⁾ As long as she maintains her indomitable Stuart courage she can face the world. Once she has lost it she is a baffled, sorely disillusioned woman looking eagerly toward death. Initially innocent, she comes to Scotland, a land of jealous, pitiless nobles and abandoned lower classes. From this point onward the narrative is concerned with describing the gradual change in her character among her sombre, evil surroundings. Her trust is often betrayed, and she becomes suspicious of every one; the sweetness is slowly sapped from her nature; she meets treachery with treachery and intrigue with intrigue. Anxious for love, she seeks a man who in his brilliance, gaiety, keen wit and daring can rival her, and in the search she is the destined prey of the masterful Bothwell. His pretended indifference makes her pursuit of him only the more eager.

At this crisis in her career Hewlett accepts the darkest accusations against her. The casket letters are genuine, and Mary, enslaved by her passion for Bothwell, is his accomplice in the murder of her husband. For these crimes Hewlett does not seek to extenuate her, for her early training

1.- "Forth from the Lady of Lorraine came the lass, born in an unhappy hour, tossing high her young head, saying, 'Let me alone to rule wild Scotland'....Maids' Adventure - with that we begin.....A hundred books have been written, a hundred songs sung; men enough of these latter days have broken their hearts for Queen Mary's. What is more to the matter is that no heart but hers was broken in time. All the world can love her now; but who loved her then? Not a man among them. A few girls went weeping; a few boys laid down their necks that she might walk free of the mire. Alas! the mire swallowed them up, and she must soil her pretty feet. This is the nut of the tragedy; pity is involved rather than terror."
(Author's preface).

and the unwholesome atmosphere of Holyrood have largely decided her doom. Her plight is not tragic, therefore, although in moments of great decision she follows her passions instead of her intellectual convictions and thus has a part in bringing the final catastrophe. She is a pitiable figure caught in the net of fate.

"The Queen's Quair" applies in the novel the psychological test of character that Swinburne applied in his trilogy. Both works give dark, depressing glimpses of a troubled, godless land in which there are few men breathing truth, virtue, and honor; both are permeated with a feeling of pessimism, a sense of the futility of struggling against fate. They differ widely, however, in their attitude toward the main character. In Swinburne Mary is essentially evil. She is static from one play to another of the trilogy, except for a gradual coarsening of moral fibre. Hewlett, on the contrary, adopts the view that a nature inherently good can be warped and brought to destruction by the power of environment. In his Mary Stuart there is a gradual degeneration as good qualities recede and evil tendencies come to the fore under the stress of her love for Bothwell. The novel thus gains a vitality, a sense of progression, that the dramas lack.

Mary's Tragedy as Conceived by Drinkwater

The psychological interest which Swinburne and Hewlett showed in their searching, almost pathological treatments of Mary's character is the one that has inspired John Drinkwater in "Mary Stuart" (1921). Here the dramatist goes to the

past for a solution of a modern problem and for a setting from which it can be regarded calmly and dispassionately.⁽¹⁾ As in "The Queen's Quair" this tendency toward a thorough examination of Mary's nature leads toward a conception of man's failure in life because it is the will of fate that he shall never find that environment in which his personality can develop unhampered. Drinkwater sees Mary as a human, not uncommon type of woman. It is predestined that her fine, strong, ardent spirit shall seek its mate and it is predestined not to find one equal to it. Therein lies the tragedy.

The play revolves around the marital troubles of the young Scotchman, John Hunter, who is introduced in the prologue. His wife, Margaret, has come to love another man without ceasing to love her husband. He is wondering how a woman may so divide her love and be true to two men at once when the scene changes from modern Edinburgh to Holyrood on the night of March 9, 1566. Hunter can be aided in his difficulty by Mary Stuart, whose faith it is that "we must become love or it spends us."

She is a woman with a capacity for a great love, which she fatalistically realizes will never come to her. She wonders which of her lovers will win her - "the scented pimp, the callow fool, or the bully" - but she knows that in the

1.- "In 'Abraham Lincoln' he wanted to show those human qualities of mind and heart that make a great and wise leader of men. In 'Mary Stuart' he wants to show how the fine qualities of a woman's mind and heart can be thwarted, can count for nothing, when the woman is not happy and richly and completely fulfilled in her love life." The Drama, vol. 11, 1921, p. 265.

end life will cheat her. As the old song has it,

"Not Riccio nor Darnley knew
Nor Bothwell how to find
This Mary's best magnificence
Of the great lover's mind."

She has no feeling for Riccio except regret that he has not the stature for love with her, and she ignores Darnley as a jealous courtier with small intelligence. Toward Bothwell she turns eagerly, kindling to the ardor of his wooing, yet restrained by her conviction that their attraction is only momentary. It is not the great love for which she is waiting.

"Mary Stuart was a queen of love," she tells her maid, "but she had no subjects. She was love's servant, but she found no lord." She is driven through the world; she cannot find peace because there is no man whose largeness of nature answers her own.⁽¹⁾ After the murder of Riccio she yields to Bothwell in revulsion from the weakness of her other lovers. The potentialities for royalty in her - the political keenness displayed in her interview with Elizabeth's ambassador, her splendid physical courage, her almost masculine resolution of spirit, her power of analyzing moral issues of personal and

1.- Mary thus answers Darnley when he demands that she dismiss Riccio: "There are tides in me as fierce as any that have troubled women. And they are restless, always, always. Do you think I desire that? Do you think I have no other longings - to govern with a clear brain, to prove myself against these foreign jealousies, to see strong children about me, to play with an easy festival mind, to walk the evenings at peace? All should be resolved and clear in me, with a king to match my kingdom. My love is crazed, a turbulence, without direction. It was made to move in long--yes, deep--assurance, moulding me beyond my knowledge. I, who should be love, may but burn and burn with the love that I am not."

national importance - all are thwarted and wasted because the love in her nature must remain unfulfilled.

This view of Mary Stuart, in common with that of Hewlett, presents forcefully that thought that whatever Mary's nature was, it was opposed by fate. In consequence the climax of the play, as is the case in "The Queen's Quair" and in Swinburne's trilogy also, is not a moral climax. At the beginning there is told Mary's strong desire for a mate who will be her peer and her revolt against the ignoble intrigues by which she must satisfy her passion. After this there is nothing to be said, no new material to dwell upon except incident. There are present none of the elements of pity and fear that Greek tragedy demands. As in other realistic interpretations of Mary's character she is pictured as an interesting type of royal womanhood, but her history has not been examined to discover the paradox of good and evil in her that finally causes her death. The peculiar qualities in her personality in their relation to environment are portrayed sympathetically so that they exculpate her almost as completely as her native goodness of heart excuses her in Banks and St. John. In other words, it is the perversity of fate rather than tragic guilt that forces the final catastrophe in Drinkwater. Here is not, as in the humanistic view of Schiller, a woman capable of good and evil who, although influenced in her decisions by her early training and her struggle against her bleak, ugly surroundings, nevertheless sees the alternative courses before her and consciously

chooses those which accomplish her ruin.

Modern Solutions of the Problem of Mary Stuart

Drinkwater's combination of a sympathetic attitude toward Mary Stuart with a none the less searching study of her character is an important step in the gradual approach to the heart of the problem which dramatists and novelists have made. The early Catholic apologists in their eagerness to canonize Mary and to point a religious moral from her lot had selected an aspect of the story that could not be of permanent interest. The eighteenth century sentimentalists in their depiction of a noble queen in undeserved distress had been similarly unobservant of the deeper meaning of the situation. They had wisely made little reference to the struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism but had examined the political conditions of the time in order to excuse Mary or, conversely, to justify Elizabeth. Jesuit and sentimentalist writer alike had been unsuccessful. Mary was for them too much the paragon, the type of womanhood set apart from her surroundings to excite admiration and pity. The question of her guilt had been ignored by them or answered in feeble fashion.

Schiller in drama and Scott in the novel had restored Mary to her place as a historical personage. The political, social, and religious movements of the time had been described, but they had been subordinated to the background, where they exercised a power in shaping the queen's ideals. Mary had been held responsible for her crime; at the same

time her noble qualities had been recognized. She had been made a living woman with human virtues and human weaknesses. Her death in "Maria Stuart" and the loss of her throne in "The Abbot" had resulted directly from her inability to pursue the course of action which her better nature prompted her to follow.

But in these two great humanistic works Scott and Schiller had given unequal emphasis to Mary's nobility of character. Schiller in particular had been hampered by the form he employed. His tragedy must have dignity and elevation, and it could not portray its heroine as too consistently sinful. In consequence he was forced to focus attention on a single act in which all the potentialities for evil in her nature are revealed. This one deed, although it sums up her fatal weakness, must appear scanty ground for the punishment meted her.

Although they admit her guilt neither Schiller nor Scott deals with her first years in Scotland, the time when Mary appears in a most unfavorable light. The need for a careful study of these years in the light of modern psychology was met by Swinburne and Hewlett in works that presented her nature in its primitive passion with the objectivity and merciless fidelity of a surgical clinic.

The Swinburnian trilogy, and to a lesser extent "The Queen's Quair," was unsuccessful in its treatment of Mary Stuart because for all its excellent analysis its view was as extreme as that of earlier optimistic apologists. It failed

utterly to take into account the good in Mary's conduct, which historians have established as firmly as they have determined her crimes.

In his view of Mary Queen of Scots Drinkwater takes the middle of the road attitude. He has a scientist's interest in the springs of human action and a poet's conception of the essentially paradoxically nature of mankind. His "Mary Stuart" is in reality only a long one-act play within the narrow compass but one aspect of Mary - Mary as the great lover - can be touched. Other elements in the situation remain untreated by this modern attitude, an attitude that tempers with the broad humanism of Scott and Schiller the analytic, objective interest of Swinburne and Hewlett.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF DRAMA CONCERNING MARY STUART

(Each drama is listed under the year of first production or first publication. Wherever there are several editions of a play the best critical or annotated edition has been mentioned.)

- 1593 Roulers, Adrian. "Insulani Stuarta Tragoedia siue Caedes Mariae Serenissimae Scot. Reginae in Angl. perpetrata." In "Lateinische Literaturdenkmäler des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts," vol. 17, Max Herrmann, Berlin, 1906.
- 1639 Regnault. "Marie Stuard Reyne d'Escosse." Quinet, Paris.
- 1644 Prague Jesuit drama. "Zeidler, Studien und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Jesuitenkomödie und des Klosterdramas." Hamburg and Leipzig, 1891.
- 1660 Vondel, Joost van. "Maria Stuart of Germartelde Majesteit." J. van Lennep, Amsterdam, 1859.
(?)
- 1660 Diamante, Juan Bautista. "La Reyna Maria Estuarda."
(?)
- 1663 Savaro, Giovanni Francesco. "La Maria Stuarda."
- 1679 Riemer, Johannes. "Von hohen Vermählungen."
- 1704 Banks, John. "The Albion Queens; or, The Death of Mary, Queen of Scotland. A Tragedy." (Written in 1674). J. Darby, London, 1728.
- 1705 Kolczawa, Karl. "Tragicæ Fortunæ Metamorphosis sive Riccius, Stuartæ Reginae Scotiæ Primus a Consiliis."
- 1778 Alfieri, Vittorio. "Maria Stuarda." Translation in "The Literature of Italy," vol. 8, The National Alumni, 1907.
- 1780 Yorke, John. "Mary, Queen of Scotland."
- 1783 Spiesz, C. H. "Marie Stuart." Joseph Edlen von Kurzbeek, Wien, 1784.
- 1789 St. John, John. "Mary, Queen of Scots." Longman, London, 1811.
- 1792 Deverell, Mary. "Mary Queen of Scots - An Historical Tragedy, or Dramatic Poem." Gloucester.
- 1800 Schiller, Johann Friedrich Christopher von. "Maria Stuart." D. C. Heath and Company, New York, 1914.
- 1801 Grahame, James. "Mary Stewart Queen of Scots." William Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1807.
- 1814 Sotheby, William. "The Death of Darnley." Murray, London, 1814.

- 1819 "Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots." Adaptation from Schiller, played by Kemble and Macready December 14, 1819.
- 1820 Caracciolo, Mariano. "Morte di Maria Stuarda." Allgemeines Theater-Lexikon, Altenburg and Leipzig, 1846.
(?)
- 1820 Hamilton, Colonel Ralph. "David Riccio; a Serious Opera, in three acts (founded on scottish history). As performed at the Theatre Royal Dury Lane 17 June 1820." John Lowndes, London, 1820.
- 1820 Lebrun, Pierre-Antoine. "Marie Stuart, Tragédie en cinq actes." Ladvocat and Barba, Paris, 1820.
- 1823 Macauley, Elizabeth Wright. "Mary Stuart, a Dramatic Representation." Sherword, London, 1823.
- 1825 Murray, William. "Mary, Queen of Scots; or, The Escape from Loch Leven. A Historical Drama, in Two Acts. First Performed at the Edinburgh Theatre, October 3rd, 1825." John Dicks, London, 1825.
- 1827 "Know Your Own Mind." Adaptation from Scott, played at Bath, January 13, 1827.
- 1831 Mitford, Mary Russell. "Mary Queen of Scots." Whittaker, London, 1831.
- 1834 Donizetti, Gaetano. "Maria Stuarda, Oper." Presented in Naples.
- 1840 Haynes, James. "Mary Stuart: An Historical Tragedy, in Five Acts." J. Ridgway, London, 1840.
- 1860 Bamme, Julius. "Maria Stuart, oder: Die Reformation in Schottland. Drama in fünf Akten." Anton, Halle, 1860.
- 1864 Björnson, Björnstjerne. "Maria Stuart I Skotland." Nicolai, Berlin, 1866.
- 1865 Swinburne, Algernon Charles. "Chastelard." Harper and Brothers, New York, 1907.
- 1868 Schneegans, Ludwig. "Maria, Königin von Schottland. Drama in fünf Aufzügen." G. Weisz, Heidelberg, 1868.
- 1874 Swinburne, Algernon Charles. "Bothwell." Harper and Brothers, New York, 1907.
- 1876 Fane, Violet. "Anthony Babington, A Drama." Chapman and Hall, London, 1876.
- 1881 Swinburne, Algernon Charles. "Mary Stuart." Harper and Brothers, New York, 1907.

- 1884 Quinn, M. "Mary Queen of Scots. A Tragedy in Three Acts." Washbourne, Ldonon, 1884.
- 1885 Peyster, Major-General John Watts de. "Bothwell: an Historical Drama." New York, 1885.
- 1890 "Field, Micheal." (Bradley, Catherine and Cooper, Emily). "The Tragic Mary." George Bell and Sons, London, 1890.
- 1894 Blake, Robert. "Mary Queen of Scots: A Tragedy in 3 acts." Simpkin, Marshall and Company, London, 1894.
- 1896 Cornelius, H. "Maria Stuart, Königin von Schottland." Schöningh, Paderborn, 1897.
- 1898 Graham, David. "Riccio, An Historical Tragedy." A. Constable and Company, Westminster, 1898.
- 1903 Shaler, Nathaniel S. "Elizabeth of England." Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1903.
- 1921 Drinkwater, John. "Mary Stuart." Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1921.
- 1921 Sterling, Ada. "Mary, Queen of Scots." Oxford University Press, New York, 1921.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF FICTION CONCERNING MARY STUART

(The date under which the novel is listed is that of first publication.)

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